

Number 17

**Essays from
"Indian Leadership and Indian Identity: A Tension
Through Time"
January 1994**

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Indian Voices in the Academy: A program of seminars, fellowships and publications for tribal college faculty and others who teach American Indian history and culture at colleges and universities. The following syllabus describes the second of the seminars to be held in this program, "Indian Leaders and Indian Identity," scheduled for January 10-15, 1994. The first took place in May, 1993 at Lac Courte Oreilles Community College in Hayward, Wisconsin; the third will occur in June, 1994 at Little Big Horn College, Crow Agency, Montana.

FINAL SYLLABUS

Indian Leaders and Indian Identity:
A Tension Through Time
January 10-15, 1994

Reading (Texts Provided to Participants):

American Indian Lawyer Training Project, Indian Tribes As Sovereign Governments (Detailed citation coming).

Donald J. Berthrong, "Struggle For Power: The Impact of Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho 'Schoolboys' on Tribal Politics," American Indian Quarterly, vol.16, no.1 (Winter, 1992), 1-24.

R. David Edmunds, ed., American Indian Leaders: Studies in Diversity (1981); a second edition is forthcoming in 1993).

Frederick E. Hoxie, ed., The History of Indian Leadership: A Special Issue of American Indian Quarterly, vol. 10, no.1 (Winter, 1986).

D'Arcy McNickle, Wind From An Enemy Sky (1978).

Monday, January 10--

3:00 pm Newberry Library Orientation for early arrivals.

6:00 pm Dinner at the Newberry Library.

Introduction of staff members, speakers and participants.
Presentation of objectives for the week by Fred Hoxie.
These include:

1. Presentation of an overview of the history of Indian leadership.
2. Review of principal methods used to present Indian leaders and the history of leadership in historical and anthropological writing.
3. Review of the relationship between the demands of leadership in a traditional society under assault from outsiders and a community's definition of itself. In particular, the seminar will explore

how pressures on Indian leaders have produced new versions of Indian community identity during the past 500 years.

4. Introduction to the use of Newberry Library resources in the study of Indian leadership and Indian identity.
5. Introduction to the use of tribal leaders and other community sources in the study of Indian leadership.
6. Discussion of the applicability of the methods and topics described above to tribal college Indian studies curricula.
7. Presentation and discussion of possible research projects that focus on the relationship of leadership issues to the history of Indian identity and produce either scholarly publications or new courses.

Hoxie will then raise the central issues to be examined during the course of the week-long seminar: the relationship of Indian leadership to the shifting position of Native Americans within American society, the tension between the demands of leadership and community definitions of "Indianness" and Indian interests, and multiple ways in which people served (and serve) as leaders in traditional communities. Finally, he will remind participants that the group will also compare the way Indian leadership and identity is taught at tribal colleges and the approach taken in Indian studies programs and research universities.

Tuesday, January 11--

8:00 am Continental Breakfast at Newberry Library.

9:00-12:00 pm Traditional Leadership Among Native Americans.

Morning: David Edmunds will describe how Indian communities were organized and led at the time of European contact. He will emphasize the role of consensus and the split in decision making between peace chiefs and war chiefs and the role of women, clans and other social factors in decision making. He will present precontact decision making as a slow, deliberative process that was facilitated by social institutions that complemented the political system.

Following Edmunds's presentation, seminar leader Fred Hoxie and Eileen Iron Cloud will elicit comments from the group that compare Edmunds's view of precontact leadership and the version they present in their class-rooms. What are the varieties of leadership? How are indigenous systems compared (if they are compared) to European systems? How useful are European terms such as "individualism" and "democracy" when one is studying the precontact world?

12:30-1:30 pm Lunch at the Newberry Library.

1:30-4:30 pm The Roots of Dependence and the Loss of Autonomy.

Afternoon: Professor Edmunds will turn to the colonial era and the early nineteenth century to describe the growing relationship between Native people and European powers. He will outline the condition of economic and political dependency that emerged in the eighteenth century and the ways in which that dependency was shifted to the government of the United States after independence. He will indicate that by 1850, the decline of the fur trade and the rise of large-scale settlement had greatly attenuated the autonomy of Indian leaders.

Following Edmunds's presentation, Fred Hoxie and Eileen Iron Cloud will lead a discussion of the impact of the process described on community self-definition and tribal leadership. How did new conditions make older leaders ineffective? How did those leaders persist--if they did? What new groups emerged and what obstacles did they face in their efforts to attain leadership? The seminar will then shift from history to teaching by asking how the process of culture change being described can be presented in tribal college and Indian studies class-rooms? How can both the changes and the continuities that are central to this process be presented in a class-room? How is this process reflected in the scholarly literature and what new research questions might Edmunds's Presentation suggest?

6:00 pm Dinner at the Newberry Library.

7:00 pm Leadership in the Chicago American Indian Community.

Evening Panel Discussion: Many of the issues discussed in the seminar affect the way we look at the Chicago Indian Community. Three leaders from major Indian organizations in the city (American Indian Center, Native American Educational Services College, American Indian Economic Development Association) will make brief presentations that will address the broad issue of Indian leadership in an urban setting. Among the questions they will discuss are Who leads the group? How does one get to be an urban Indian leader? What makes for a good leader? How does leadership affect the group? After the presentations, we will discuss these questions together.

Wednesday, January 12--

8:00 am Continental Breakfast at the Newberry Library.

9:00-12:00 am Levels of Leadership in Contemporary Indian Communities.

Morning: Looking back from the present, Eileen Iron Cloud will describe the pressures and interest groups that create,

sustain or thwart Indian leaders. She will discuss the role of community religious groups, powerful economic actors, cultural appeals and family ties in tribal politics. She will ask as well, "who are the leaders in an Indian community?" and will discuss the relationship between public spokespeople and others behind the scenes who might wield greater power.

Following the presentation, Hoxie and Edmunds will lead a discussion of how the pressures acting on a leader can be described and discussed in a tribal college or Indian studies classroom. Participants will present examples from their curriculum and propose ideas for new courses or research topics that address the complexity of leadership and the relationship of leadership to a community's sense of itself through time.

12:00-1:30 pm Lunch at the Newberry Library.

1:30-4:00 pm Training Leaders: A Way of Preserving the Old or Building the New?

Afternoon: Eileen Iron Cloud will discuss Oglala Lakota College's "Manager As Warrior" Management and leadership program. The program offers a Master's degree that results from students involvement in a community leadership training project. Iron Cloud has been with the program since its beginning in 1989 and has been involved in work to define what tribal leadership is and to develop curricula that might enhance both Lakota leadership and Lakota management styles. Much of her work has been driven by the powerful cultural, identity and gender issues that have arisen during the development of the program. In this session she will describe the development of the program and its significance for the understanding of tribal leadership.

Following this presentation, Hoxie and Edmunds will elicit examples form seminar participants of leadership training experiences drawn from their own communities or tribes they have studied. These will be compared to the Pine Ridge example and examined to illuminate the process of community self-definition and re-definition through time.

6:00 pm Dinner at the Newberry Library.

6:30 pm Big Institutions and Little Communities: How Does Interaction with Non-Indian Organizations Shape Indian Community Life?

Evening Panel Discussion: Representatives from three "Big Institutions" (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, North Central Association of Schools and Colleges, and the MacArthur Foundation) will describe briefly the issues that arise when they become involved with Native American communities. Among the questions they will

consider are:

--What conflicts arise when large organizations works with and in Native American communities?

--What solutions have been developed for alleviating these conflicts?

--Is there an inevitable conflict between the goals of national organizations and the local ambitions of tribal people?

Once all three speakers have made their presentations, the group will discuss these questions together.

Thursday, January 13--

8:00 am Continental Breakfast at the Newberry Library.

9:00-5:00 pm Individual Research in Newberry Collections.

The day will be devoted to individual conferences with seminar participants and research in the Newberry Library collections. The group will receive an orientation lecture in the morning and will then be scheduled to meet with one of the seminar leaders to discuss their proposed curriculum or writing project. The group will reassemble in mid-afternoon to review their project and raise common problems.

12:00-1:30 pm Lunch together at the Newberry Library.

5:00 pm Tour of Chicago historical Indian sites.

6:00 pm Dinner at the Field Museum of Natural History.

7:00 pm Tour of Field Museum's North American Indian galleries and presentation on repatriation by Jonathan Haas, the Vice President for Museum Affairs.

Friday, January 14--

9:00-12:00 pm Training Leaders of Sovereign Nations.

Morning: Richard Trudell, Director of the American Indian Lawyer Training Project, will describe the efforts of his organization to prepare Native leaders to function within the American legal system. Among the topics to be discussed are the role of women in contemporary communities, the imposition of federal standards (e.g. the separation of powers) on traditional forms of tribal leadership, and the divisions that both produce new leaders and hamper their progress.

12:00-1:30 pm Lunch at the Newberry Library.

1:30-4:30 pm Leadership in Fiction.

Afternoon: Fred Hoxie and the other seminar instructors will lead a discussion of D'Arcy McNickle's Wind From and Enemy Sky, a novel published in 1978, the year after McNickle's death. The book offers a grim portrait of the choices available to Indian leaders in the modern era and is a fascinating reflection of the thoughts of a man who observed Indian politics and leadership for half a century.

6:00 pm Dinner at the Newberry Library.

6:30 pm Leadership in Film.

Film: The film Incident at Oglala will be shown followed by a discussion of its content and use in the classroom by seminar participants from Oglala Lakota College.

Saturday, January 15--

8:00 am Continental Breakfast at Newberry Library.

9:00-12:00 pm Lunch at the Newberry Library.

Morning: Participants will be free to return to individual research projects and seminar leaders will be available to discuss future directions for their research.

12:00-1:30 pm Lunch at the Newberry Library.

The group will meet over lunch to report on individual research ideas and the progress made (or obstacles encountered) during the seminar week. The session will have the goal of helping individuals to define their ideas for a summer fellowship applications.

1:30-4:00 pm Closing Session and Occasional Paper.

Afternoon: Fred Hoxie will lead a discussion of the ways in which the issues raised in the seminar might--or might not--be incorporated into the curriculum of a tribal college, Indian studies or history curricula. He will also ask the group to reflect on the ways in which the history of Indian leadership presents a view of Indian identity that places too much emphasis on outside forces. Does this view create problems for teachers? Does it skew our view of Native American history? In what ways does a focus on leadership broaden one's understanding of tribal communities? In what ways does it narrow that understanding? And for all of these questions, how might future research both clarify the issues raised and provide answers to the questions posed during the week? Finally, the participants will use this closing session to plan the Occasional Paper to be written for the seminar. Individuals will decide on their assignments and writing projects before the group disperses at the end of the day.

Introduction

On January 10-16, 1994, the D'Arcy McNickle Center hosted the second in a series of six seminars in the "Indian Voices in the Academy" program. The series began in May 1993 and extends through January 1996. Sites alternate between tribal colleges and the Newberry Library--seminars focus on local and reservation history at the colleges and leadership and gender at the Newberry. The major purposes of the "Indian Voices in the Academy" program are to support a network of educators who teach Indian history and to provide a collaborative format to explore new topics.

Nineteen college teachers representing different institutions and disciplines gathered in Chicago in January for the seminar "Indian Leadership and Indian identity: A Tension Through Time." The week-long seminar explored the shifting nature of tribal leadership from first contacts to the present. The seminar group discussed the relationship between traditional marks of leadership and the requirements of contemporary society, examined the different kinds of leadership (i.e., political, spiritual, economic, etc.) and the careers of mixed-blood leaders throughout history, and discussed how best to teach about the history of Indian leadership and Indian identity in contemporary communities.

The Occasional Paper provides an opportunity for seminar participants to share their experience and knowledge to reflect on issues, and debates and to raise more questions about Indian leadership and Indian identity. It furnishes a glimpse of the

dialogue, insights, and ideas we shared throughout the seminar week for those teacher who were unable to attend.

The collection begins with an essay by Frederick E. Hoxie, former Center Director, which provides an overview of seminar discussions surrounding the relationship between Indian leadership and identity and the numerous questions this raises. This essay is followed by other contributions from seminar participants which provide different models for analyzing Indian leadership and identity, examine the limitations of teaching and writing about Indians, and discuss the impact of different institutions on Indian education.

This publication is being distributed to all seminar participants in the "Indian Voices in the Academy Faculty Develop Program," 1993-1996. Its contents are intended to be shared and circulated among other department members and other teachers of Indian History.

The papers are published in the form submitted to the Center Staff, with proofreading limited to a review for internal consistency. No effort has been made to recast citations into a uniform style. Additional copies are available for \$5 and can be obtained by writing to: The Newberry Library, D'Arcy McNickle Center for the History of the American Indian, 60 West Walton Street, Chicago, IL. 60610.

Finding New Questions in Familiar Topics

by
Frederick E. Hoxie
Newberry Library

Throughout history, people have been concerned about the nature and definition of leadership in their communities. Leaders articulate a group's assessment of the problems it faces and presents a vision of how those problems might be resolved. At times of peace and prosperity, the words and actions of leaders can drift to the margins of public concern. But at times of conflict and during periods of dramatic change, when people begin to question their ability to survive, leaders can be central to a community's persistence.

Prior to the arrival of Europeans, American Indian communities evolved systems of leadership adapted to a wide array of settings and predicaments. Chiefdoms along the Northwest Coast, dispersed hunting bands in the Great Basin, and the farming villages of the Southeastern corn belt all produced various kinds of leaders who functioned in many areas by providing political, religious, military, and economic direction for their communities. The unprecedented pressures that came upon these groups in the aftermath of European invasion changed all of that. Some areas of activity became closed off, while others changed dramatically. Problems compounded themselves as communities also found themselves divided over the future. In the face of new technologies and new religion, many individuals wished to change the group's traditions, others wanted to hold

more firmly to the past. Leadership in the post-contact era carried special responsibilities and had profound cultural consequences.

Unfortunately, few scholars have explored the broad cultural implications and intricate internal pressures that have characterized Indian leadership during the past 500 years. Fascinated by eloquent council speeches and noble warriors, historians and anthropologists have tended to downplay the extent to which native leaders reflected, and even inspired, cultural change within their communities and have therefore frequently overlooked the dynamic ways in which Indian leaders and leadership have changed over time. Not only does a narrow and static view of Native American leadership distort one view of the past--categorizing some people as "authentic" and denigrating others as "illegitimate"--but it cramps our understanding of the present, reducing a contemporary community's range of options.

To respond to these scholarly shortcomings and to explore their implications for modern Indian people, the McNickle Center hosted a seminar in January, 1994 that brought together a group of Indian and non-Indian scholars for a week of presentations and discussion. The seminar was the second in a series entitled, "Indian Voices in the Academy," a program which seeks to build bridges between the faculties of American Indian tribal colleges and the wider academic community. The seminar, "Indian Leaders and Indian Identity: A Tension Through Time," seemed particularly appropriate for this program both because the nature of leadership is a central issue in most reservation communities and

because tribal college faculty members--who teach in those communities--would have a unique perspective on the conventional (and flawed) academic scholarship. At the same time we suspected that scholars working away from native communities would be eager to test their book knowledge against the ideas of their reservation-based colleagues. And finally, the seminar included a "reality check" in the form of a presentation by Alan Parker, a practicing attorney who had recently left his post as Director of the American Indian Policy Institute, a federally-funded research center concerned with policy issues.

The seminar fulfilled our expectations despite the fact that it left many participants frustrated. A discussion of interesting papers laid a scholarly base for our discussion and provided the groups with an excellent overview of the subject. R. David Edmunds provided three masterful half-day sessions that traced the nature of political leadership from the precontact world to the present. He described the shifting requirements of leadership and paid particular attention to the impact of intermarriage on the evolution of mixed-blood leaders who served as intermediaries with non-indians. Eileen Iron Cloud followed those historical sessions with a description of Oglala Lakota Colleges' graduate program in Indian leadership, "Managers as Warriors." Her session included a discussion of specific material used in that program. Alan Parker's presentation, a discussion of D'Arcy McNickle's Wind From an Enemy Sky, and a series of panel discussion on the Chicago Indian community, rounded out the week.

The limitations of the program became evident as the richness of our subject became apparent to everyone involved. The presentations and discussion produced so many new questions and identified so many areas for future research, that it began to seem that the tasks to be tackled far outnumbered the tasks already completed. These were the new questions we unearthed in the familiar topic of Indian leadership. The papers assembled in this volume present explorations of some of those new questions. The space remaining here allows me an opportunity to describe others in more general terms. They are as follows:

1. With few exceptions, it is extremely difficult to uncover the meaning of Indian leadership in late precontact communities. In particular it is difficult to know the relationship between civil and religious leaders. We can know that leadership functions were dispersed through communities, but there is today little detailed knowledge about how religious insights affected political decision-making.
2. Historical documents and many oral traditions provide substantial evidence with regard to community leaders, but the materials tell us little about followers--why did people follow particular individuals? Did their motives change through time, and did motive differ for men and women or the old and the young? How can these questions be answered and how can we know that the answers we develop for one time are applicable to another?
3. What does "mixed blood" mean? That is, how should the phenomenon of intermarriage be understood when exploring the history of leadership--a history in which "mixed-blood" people play a prominent role. If race is a European construct, at what point can we surmise that Native Americans began to perceive of race as a significant feature of one's make-up? How did the participants in a historical moment understand this category and how did that understanding change through time?
4. It does not appear from what we know today that Indian identity is a constant. The nature of identity--what it means to belong to a particular community--seems to have changed with changes in political power, religion, belief, and economic subsistence. How, then, does one

judge who is or who is not a member of a particular community at any moment in time?

5. What is the responsibility of higher education in teaching the history of Indian leadership? With so many problematic categories--membership, religious leader, "traditional," and follower--how do educators develop both critical skills and loyalty to existing social norms? What should we teach and how?
6. What constitutes a decision in an Indian political institution? Whether referring today to issues of repatriation or land use, or to issues in the past where leaders felt constrained by outside pressures, this question reflects our judgment regarding the legitimacy of native leadership. Answering the question, "are decisions decisions?" requires us to decide if leaders are leaders.

There are surely more issues to consider or other ways to understand the questions listed here. This itemization should suggest, however, how rich the subject of Indian leadership has proved to be. The seminar did a wonderful job of bringing the broad concerns to the surface and identifying those areas of scholarship which have been most useful and interesting. The work of using the resources in the Newberry and other institutions to provide answers to these questions lies ahead.

Are Cultural Brokers Leaders?

by
Margaret Connell Szasz
University of New Mexico

The question as posed above appears to me to be incomplete because it addresses only part of the issues of the Newberry seminar. Hence, I would like to rephrase it to read: Are cultural brokers leaders and how does their leadership interact with their identity? In order to assess this complex question, I propose to establish some definitions for these categories of leadership and brokerage, relying in part on notes that I made at the seminar. Then, I will attempt to pinpoint some of the different kinds of leadership by intermediaries. Finally, I will draw some tentative conclusions.

Those of us engaged in cross-cultural understanding are probably to one degree or another, cultural intermediaries or brokers. We move from one set of values or world views to another, often on a daily basis. We are acutely conscious of cultural cues, we react in accordance with the milieu in which we are moving, and we shift our responses in accordance with this milieu. Some of my students who encounter different worlds when moving from off- to on-reservation environments have used similar words to describe their efforts to adjust. Some of these students the fluidity of their cultural movement is almost unconscious; for others, the contrast is sometimes overwhelming. They persist because the two or more worlds are important to them; each helps to define who they are; each has a claim on part

of their identity. The result is a composite: Native American and American, and often not just American but Italian, Norwegian, Irish, or Hispanic, as well.

The composite identities that characterize these students have often been created through the force of their own personal circumstances. Their families may have relocated to Chicago, Denver, or Los Angeles. Wilma Mankiller, Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, reflects this background, as do some of those who participated in the seminar on Indian Leadership and Indian Identity. Others may have left the reservation to pursue college degrees or other post-secondary education. Many have become intermediaries because they have been arbitrarily thrust into different cultures. In the past, warfare, enslavement, boarding school, missionary influence, and other cross-cultural events have recast individuals once secure within their own community into bilingual intermediaries who link worlds through the patterns of their own lives.

Some Native Americans, therefore, have become cultural brokers through their own unique circumstances. Those who consciously pursue this identity, however, bring to the position several other characteristics. First, intermediaries retain an intrinsic curiosity about the "other side" of the cultural divide. Without this curiosity, they would not begin the process of becoming brokers. Beyond curiosity, however, they also approach the other side with a receptiveness that acknowledges the inherent cultural worth of the outside culture. Their attitude is based on the premise that "other" worlds offer

something of value.

Those who accept the role of intermediary share further characteristics. To retain this position, they convince both cultures that they can be trusted. They learn the cultural cues, the accepted behavior of each culture, and prove again and again that they will abide by these rules. The recent encounter between Judith Fein, author of Indian Time, and the Eight Northern Pueblos of New Mexico is a classic demonstration of what can happen when a would be cultural broker fails to follow the rules.

In January 1994, the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council, Inc., a group whose governing board is comprised of the governors of each pueblo issued a written statement which began: "Now that Coyote is out of the Den, we must protect ourselves!" It declared further: "Because you (Fein) have ignored these basic tenets of civilized behavior, you have lost the privilege of coming on our land." Fein's failed cultural brokerage is clarified in the concluding statement: "This would not have happened if you had thought about how to communicate with us instead of about us, nor if you truly had learned anything about what it means to be Indian" (Santa Fe New Mexican, January 30, 1994). Even though some members of these pueblos were critical of the statement, it is clear that Fein overstepped the boundaries of acceptable behavior for the leadership. The case itself illustrates the slippery nature of brokering. Awkward or even dangerous situations may lie in wait for the incautious intermediary. Some brokers have stumbled to such a degree they have been ostracized

by both cultures.

Perseverance and care define the profile of a successful broker. But there are rewards. For some, as seminar leader Dave Edmonds had mentioned, there are material rewards. In a number of instances Native Americans have served as power brokers who controlled the flow of goods between and among natives and outsiders. Others have been political brokers, especially as historic relations between Native and non-Native Americans shifted from military to diplomatic confrontation. In some cases, such as the Cherokee during the 1820s and 1830s, these political brokers were mixed-bloods who had received their schooling in the East, and could fight for their nation's survival through the eyes of the United States federal court and other dimensions of the outside culture.

Brokerage can also bring a sense of personal satisfaction through successful communication and enlarged understanding. Throughout the past brokers have often served their people: they have preserved or enlarged the tribal land base, they have protected tribal sovereignty, they have retained or been responsible for returning sacred sites, and they have clarified critical issues through perceptive linguistic and cultural translation. These are only a few of their accomplishments. Those who have been successful have narrowed the gap of misunderstanding that divides one people from another.

While the motives for these intermediaries have differed, so too have their patterns of response. Some have chosen to adapt selectively for other cultures. Returned boarding school

students in the early to mid-twentieth century, for example, introduced material changes. Pueblo students who had become accustomed to wood burning stoves at Carlisle Indian School, urged that they be adopted within their own homes. Others have taught their communities crucial aspects of the outside world. Jesse Rowlodge, as Donald Berthrong has noted, interpreted the political machinations of Washington, D.C. to the political leaders among the Southern Cheyenne and Arapaho. Still others have reversed this pattern, enlarging the understanding of outsiders about the ways of their own communities.

If the above comments offer some suggestions about cultural brokers, then we need to look at some assessments of Native American leadership before turning to the question of brokers as leaders. Dave Edmunds offered some insights on native leadership from a historical perspective. Two of his comments caught my attention. He argued that success of native leadership was determined by how well these leaders served their people. In a number of instances leadership positions proved tenuous. When they were contingent upon the above definition, there was more fluidity. Edmunds' second observation, which is directly related to the first, suggests that precontact native leaders epitomized the group's aspirations. This thesis was reinforced by seminar leader Eileen Iron Cloud. In her profile of leaders, Iron cloud assessed their role as one of being with the people, not above them. In the same context, seminar participant Duane Hollow Horn Bear emphasized the importance of humility, a concept sometimes overlooked by contemporary Lakota youth. Seminar leader Alan

Parker reinforced these concepts in describing the governance study, which asks the leading question: how does political leadership in a tribe include consultation?

The portrait of a Native American leader suggests, therefore, that a successful leader represents the community or group or tribe. In order to maintain the position, however, the leader must be in touch with the community, seeking to remain on the same level as the people. In order to maintain that stance, the leader must also retain a sense of humility; the leader must serve the people.

This moves us to the challenge of the initial question: are cultural brokers leaders, and how does their leadership interact with their identity? In response to the first half of the question--are cultural brokers leaders--I would suggest that cultural brokers can be leaders, but not all cultural brokers are leaders. Their role as leaders is contingent on the type of brokerage role that they play--whether they are interpreters or educators or entertainment figures or others--and also upon the method of brokerage that they employ.

I have already mentioned that some brokers could be leaders. Figures such as Jesse Rowlodge were clearly leaders among their own people. I would like, therefore, to turn to the relationship between leadership and the types of brokering employed by intermediaries. There are several types of movement patterns that intermediaries have adopted through the last five centuries, continuing into the present. The first pattern was employed by an intermediary who was based firmly within his/her own group.

This broker learned about the outside culture(s) through personal experience. The broker then used that knowledge as a spring board to benefit the group. Again, Rowledge exemplifies this pattern of brokerage. Like Rowodge, other returned students have often fit this pattern. With their knowledge of the English language and their direct experience with outside systems and values, they had the potential to guide their people through the quicksand of diplomacy and other negotiations with the federal government. Moreover, their friendships, which often resulted in marriage with other tribal people, led to networking and alliances that brought strength to pan-tribal native positions.

The second pattern was adopted by one who moved outside of the group, basing his/her employment within an institution on the other side of the cultural divide. This broker was often employed by an agency of the federal government, such as the Bureau of Indian Affairs, but he/she might be connected with a religious denomination, an educational institution, or a social agency. This broker retained basic loyalty to the native community or tribe, and returned whenever possible to participate in ceremonies or other events, but the bulk of this broker's experiences remained in the outside world. D'Arcy McNickle exemplifies this type of cultural broker who was also a leader. Although he grew up on the Flathead reservation and attended Chemawa Indian School, during most of his adult life he lived off-the-reservation, in Washington, D.C., Chicago, Saskatchewan, Albuquerque, and elsewhere. His heart was with the Indian people: he committed his life to working for Native American

causes; but his home lay on the far side of the cultural divide.

The third pattern of brokerage was adopted by one whose personal circumstances and abilities enabled him/her to move with ease between the tribal community and the outside culture. This type of brokerage was (and is) rare. How many times have you heard someone say that the Indian who has moved inside the beltway is no longer with the people, as Iron Cloud portrayed native leadership? Something happens when one moves inside that invisible line. I have spoken with some of those who have taken this step, and they have agreed that an unexplainable change occurs. It may be equally difficult for one who moves into the environment of an off-reservation academic institution. In Albuquerque, some of UNM's Native American faculty and staff can commute to their reservations; consequently the break is not as harsh, but this opportunity to maintain the bridge between worlds may be rare. Consequently, I would suggest that those native people who succeed in this type of brokerage are favored with specific conditions and are unusually agile in maintaining cultural movement.

Those who engage in the patterns of brokerage that I have just described--based within the groups, based outside the group, or based equally within and outside--can also be leaders. They can be in touch with communities both inside and outside; and they can be humble. Their ability to epitomize the group's aspirations depends on their skill in convincing their own community that they have retained their loyalty, along with their world view and values. This is a fine line to walk, and not all

succeed. When they do succeed, they can add another characteristic not mentioned earlier: they can provide an example for the youth of their community. Their ability to maintain the balance between cultures, and yet retain the core of values held by their own people, sends a message to the young people. Consequently, theirs can be a unique form of leadership, one that may complement the leadership from within. I wish that we might have discussed some of these issues during the seminar, but perhaps at one of the future seminars to be held at tribal colleges we can introduce them for further give and take.

**"Changing Woman" as a Metaphor for the
Native Woman of the Twenty-First Century**

by
Charlotte Goodluck and Cheryl-Lynn Humphreys
Northern Arizona University

In the times before the Cherokees learned the ways of others, they paid extraordinary respect to women.

So when a man married, he took up residence with the clan of his wife. The women of each of the seven clans elected their own leaders. These leaders convened as the Women's Council, and sometimes raised their voices in judgment to override the authority of the chiefs when the women believed the welfare of the tribe demanded such an action. It was common custom among the ancient Cherokees that any important questions relating to war and peace were left to a vote of the women.

There were brave Cherokee women who followed their husbands and brothers into battle. These female warriors were called War Women or Pretty Women, and they were considered dignitaries of the tribe, many of them being as powerful in council as in battle.

The Cherokees also had a custom of assigning to a certain woman the task of declaring whether pardon or punishment should be inflicted on great offenders. This woman also was called the Pretty Woman, but she was sometimes known as Most Honored Woman or Beloved Woman.

It was the belief of the Cherokees that the Great Spirit sent messages through their Beloved Woman. So great was her power that she could commute the sentence of a person condemned to death by the council.

The Ghigau, known by her later name of Nancy Ward, is often called the last Beloved Woman. She earned her title, the highest honor that a Cherokee woman could achieve, by rallying the Cherokees in a pitched battle against the Creeks in 1755. As a War Woman of the Wolf Clan, she accompanied her first husband, Kingfisher, into battle. In the field, she prepared food for him and chewed his bullets to cause fatal damage when they struck their marks. When Kingfisher was killed in the heat of the fray, she raised his weapon and fought so valiantly that the Cherokees rose behind her leadership and defeated the Creeks.

In recognition of her courage in war, Nancy was given her prestigious title. She spent the remainder of her life as a devoted advocate of peace between the Cherokees and all others.¹

¹Wilma Mankiller and Michael Wallis, Mankiller: A Chief and Her People (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 207-208.

"Though tribal women's roles have changed over time, women continue to share in the struggle of America's Native peoples, and often they are at the forefront."² Contrary to the popular male dominated theories of the "New World," Native women represent the creative life force and energy of these nations and it is really a "Old-new-worlds" paradigm. Each tribal nation has a creation story. For example, the Diné (Navajo) story of creation presents "Changing Woman" as the originator of The People in a land between four sacred mountains.³ The Diné holy people recognize her in their language, values, beliefs, and ceremonies. She resides at the center of the Diné philosophical ideas of "Beauty Way" and "Harmony." "In Navajo thought . . . harmony epitomizes the pattern of hozho manifest everywhere in the universe."⁴ Changing Woman is at the epicenter of the Diné way of life. Other peoples have creation stories which reveal female holy people who guide them.

In Baca-Zinn and Thornton-Dill's Women of Color in U.S. Society, they cite statistical and demographic material on Native American women in a chapter entitled "Difference and Domination." They present an overview of population information, for example: in 1960 the population of Native Americans was 546,000, in 1970 it was 764,000, in 1980 it was 1,479,000 and in 1990 it was 2 million. They also include geographic characteristics, marital

² Ronnie Parley, Women of the Native Struggle: Portraits and Testimony of Native American Women, with an Introduction by Anna Lee Walters, (New York: Orion Books, 1993), 11.

³ Paul G. Zolbrod, Diné bahané: The Navajo Creation Story (Albuquerque, New Mexico: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), 23.

⁴ Hozho is the Navajo word representing the philosophical foundation of the Navajo way of life which includes instructions about moral and ethical beliefs and provides direction for daily behavior. Ibid, 10.

status, fertility rates, educational attainment, employment, and socio/economic characteristics that show that approximately 31% of all Native Americans fall below the poverty level according to the 1990 U.S. Census compared to 23.7% in 1979 (compared to 7% for whites in 1979).⁵ American Indian women have ranked the lowest in all of these variables due to historical, sexist, and racist factors. Today, national population trends show increases and growth most dramatically with an increasing youth-centered population (mean age is between 18-21 years). We also see increasing rates of single parent families and increasing rates of urban relocation patterns.⁶ In spite of high rates of unemployment in the labor market and poor economic conditions, American Indian women are surviving and making worthwhile contributions. Statistics are often grim and depressing but Native women have shown great strength, courage, and self-reliance in overcoming these social and economic barriers. American Indian women are finishing high school, graduating from tribally controlled community colleges, and obtaining graduate level degrees in varying disciplines at increasing levels.⁷

The dominant culture stereotyped Native women throughout history with labels such as squaw, Indian princess, the old grandmother; subservient, often abused by their men, they were

⁵ Maxine Baca Zinn and Bonnie Thornton Dill, eds., Women of Color in U.S. Society (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 13-40. They provided data from 1960 to 1980. Dr. Dan Edwards, "Social Work Practice with American Indians and Alaskan Natives" Unpublished paper; C. Goodluck has on file. 1993. This article provided data for 1990.

⁶ Jennie R. Joe and Dorothy Lonewolf Miller, "Cultural Survival and Contemporary American Indian Women in the City," in Women of Color in U.S. Society ed. Maxine Baca Zinn and Bonnie Thornton Dill (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), 185-202.

⁷ Some of the accomplishments are highlighted in a Content Analysis of the Suggested Readings. The analysis is a review of articles and books about Native American women with variables such as gender (in regards to authorship), ethnicity, and discipline areas. The analysis was conducted only with the Suggested Readings of this article.

thought to have no power in government or other areas of tribal life--too often they were viewed as old, haggard, and mean. European men wrote the first accounts of Native women and judged them against criteria established for European women whose place was in the home, where they had to be virtuous, nurturing, and weak and subservient to men supporting a patrilineal society. "Depending on whether or not a group was matrilineal or patrilineal, or practiced elements of both, women were very much informed and involved in the process of deliberation and selection of leaders, at different levels, in most tribes. This, too, is true today."⁸

Needless to say, these assumptions were inaccurate and the value of Native women was vastly underestimated. They did not play a role less than men. They had individual personalities, differing tribal identities, and held together their societies from equal and in some cases higher statuses than men. Native women held substantial power within tribes because they raised children, and governed construction and maintenance of lodges; they cleaned, cooked, and made clothing; they weaved, they worked the fields, they were the healers and medicine women, and they were indeed among their tribe's leaders. In the past and present, some tribes determined kinship and place of residence on matrilineal⁹ and matrilocal¹⁰ bases. Given kinship and place of residence based on the female side, many tribes were

⁸ Parley, Women of the Native Struggle, 13.

⁹ Matrilineal means lineage is traced through the mother's clan.

¹⁰ Matrilocal means that after marriage the family lives near the wife's mother's clan.

matriarchies, where the Native women represent power within the tribes. Today, many of the old assumptions about Native women remain. None, however, applied then or now.

The general population perceives a split between public and private work; for Native societies this split is nonexistent. Women have been unrecognized heretofore because the persons who wrote the articles, primarily males as well as their few female contemporaries, concentrated on "public" domains as the only legitimate places of work or labor. Native women have always been leaders. Webster's Dictionary defines "leadership" as "the position or function of a leader." Fred Hoxie discussed American Indian leadership models at length in a recent article in The American Indian Quarterly.¹¹ To expand the definition, "leadership" can be seen as the knowledge, values, and skills necessary to complete the role.¹² To illustrate the many roles of women, consider the following poem by Paula Gunn Allen, a Laguna Pueblo/Sioux:

Womanwork¹³

some make potteries
some weave and spin
remember
the Woman/celebrate
webs and making
out of own flesh
earth
bowl and urn
to hold water
and ground corn
balanced on heads
and springs lifted

¹¹ Frederick E. Hoxie, "The History of American Indian Leadership: An Introduction," American Indian Quarterly Vol. X, No. 1 (Winter 1986): 1-3.

¹² Role for our purposes means the position carried out by women (tribal leader, mother, weaver, spiritual medicine person, etc.)

¹³ Rayna Green, ed., That's What She Said: Contemporary Poetry and Fiction by Native American Women (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1984): 29.

and rivers in our eyes
brown hands shaping
earth into earth
food for bodies
water for fields
they use
old pots
broken
fragments
castaway
bits
to make new
mixed with clay
it makes strong
bowls, jars
new
she
brought
light
we remember this
as we make
the water bowl
broken
marks the grandmother's grave
so she will shape water
for bowls
for food growing
for bodies
eating
at drink
thank her

Native women play a major role in the creative forces of their world. The following is a format for assessment of Native American women's roles: biological (the physical giving of life, birth); psychological (enduring emotional traits); social (caring for the extended family and clans); political (advocates, organizers, elected leaders, lobbyist, and activists);¹⁴ cultural (mainstays of the tribe and carriers of tradition) and spiritual (empowerment and strength related to spirit knowledge, skills, and values). Native women are the caretakers of many social, economic, and political dimensions of their tribes and families.

Native women provide leadership in many settings. They play

¹⁴ Native American women are heavily involved in organizations such as: AIM (American Indian Movement), International Indian Treaty Council, Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, National Association of Native American Children of Alcoholics, and Big Mountain Coalition.

important roles as midwives and in creation stories, spiritually and biologically giving birth.¹⁵ From a psychological perspective they lead tribal communities toward Power, Harmony, and Beauty.¹⁶ In the social dimension, as "mother," "sister," "clan mother," "elder mother," and "auntie," they teach others about language, appropriate behavior, and tasks to be completed in the life cycle. Their primary role is to govern many family and clan activities. Women serve as "wisdom carriers," devotees to the importance of land, and as promoters of tribal events which enrich cultural continuity.¹⁷ They are role models for others in work, play, and love. Spiritually, women provide religious foundations by telling stories,¹⁸ singing songs, dancing in rituals and ceremonies, and being healers and caretakers. Women can be seen and heard, in many leadership roles throughout the tribal environment. "Classic" western leadership roles are often associated with public arenas. But in the Native communities women often become leaders in a quiet and private way. They do not recognize a strict boundary between "public" or "private," yet still provide tribes with leadership in ideas and coordination of activities that provide basic services. Tribal

¹⁵ Katsi Cook, Mohawk states "Midwifery is working with the women in the most basic ways ... Doing this work is a way of bringing the women together so that they can all witness the magic and participate in the power that birth brings to the family ... I see their growth and development in carrying their birth, and then I witness them giving birth within the power of the family and not through the power of Western medicine." Farley, Women of the Native Struggle, 47.

¹⁶ Leadership abilities are viewed from a holistic, interconnected, and cyclical fashion with behavior and action tied to beliefs and values of a philosophical and ideological framework. Power, harmony, and beauty tie these concepts together with behavior and spirituality coming together.

¹⁷ Native Americans for Community Action, Inc. (NACA) is a non-profit organization which provides social, economic, health, cultural, and educational opportunities for Native Americans in Flagstaff, Arizona. It serves as a model for Indian oriented service centers.

¹⁸ An excellent resource regarding Native American poets, fiction writers, and artist is a list in Arlene Hirschfelder and Martha Krieger de Montafó, The Native American Almanac: A Portrait of Native America Today (New York: Prentice Hall General Reference):202-208. See also the authors Suggested Readings for other citations.

women also serve on agency, community, and local service committees. Untold numbers of tribal women remain active in the community serving as: community outreach workers,¹⁹ tribal advocates, health aids, college students,²⁰ community health representatives, substance abuse prevention workers,²¹ foster parents, and foster grandparents. These women provide a public service in a private fashion, often unheralded.

The "male" point of view defines leadership in the dominant culture. This definition would restrict the roles women play in traditional, political, and academic areas, and exclude them from other areas of the tribe. However, Native women have made more progress. For example, in academics, "ten women now serve as presidents of the 28 member colleges in the American Indian Higher Education Consortium . . . Thus, women hold 39 percent of the tribal college president chairs--more than three times the 11 percent of women who head colleges and universities in the United States as a whole."²² Some current examples of Native women active in the political arena of their tribes are Annie Dodge Wauneka (Navajo), Ada Deer (Menominee), and Wilma Mankiller (Cherokee). The public media highlights these three women as representative

¹⁹ Mililani B. Trask is an elected governor of a movement of Native Hawaiians to gain trust lands and water quality. She leveraged \$3 million from the government to provide housing and land for 61 Native Hawaiian families displaced by volcanic activity as stated in Mary Ann Zehr, "Look Deeper into Indian Country" Foundation News Vol. 34, Number 5 (September/October 1993), 13.

²⁰ Raenalda Ray, a Navajo, Northern Arizona University, is a well spoken and active undergraduate, studying to improve her own life, and the lives of her own people. She epitomizes a quiet soft spoken Navajo nature with a solid clan and family connection. Raenalda remains a hopeful future for all Native peoples and represents the connection between the past and future which is evident in the guidance and leadership by her traditionally based mother.

²¹ "In the Honour of All: The Story of Alkali Lake," 56 min. Phil Lucas Productions, Inc., 1985. Videocassette. In this non-fiction video the main person featured was a Native woman from this tribe who transformed the tribe from 100% dependency on alcohol to less than 5% dependency in less than 10 years. The main concept behind the program was a spiritual connectedness and a return to tradition.

²² Marjane Ambler, "Women Leaders in Indian Education: More Women are Running Tribal Colleges. What Does This Mean for the Future of Native American Societies?" Tribal College (Spring 1992):10.

of all tribes, while they remain the visible few among vast numbers of underrepresented Native women.

Mrs. Annie Dodge Wauneka, born in Sawmill, Arizona, on the Navajo reservation in 1910, she attended the Albuquerque Indian School. She walks in both the traditional and modern worlds. As a bilingual "cultural broker"²³ her diversity and talent shows in her work. Active since the 1950s, she made the Navajo people healthier by educating her people about the dangers and ways to prevent tuberculosis. The first woman elected to the Navajo Tribal Council in 1951, she earned a B.S. in Public Health at the University of Arizona in the mid-1950s. A radio announcer in Gallup, New Mexico, in 1960 she broadcast her shows in Navajo. In 1963, Mrs. Wauneka received the Presidential Medal of Freedom from John F. Kennedy for her work in public health. She also received an honorary doctorate in public health from the University of Arizona. She remains an active and influential leader at both the local and tribal levels.

Ms. Ada Deer, M.S.W, served as the Chairperson of the Menominee Restoration Committee from 1973-76, which pushed the Wisconsin and Federal governments to restore her tribe's "federally recognized status" following the termination era in the 1950s. She works as a national, state, and tribal advocate as evident in her involvement with Native American Rights Fund, Commission on White House Fellows, Common Cause, and Girl Scouts of U.S.A. She was also the Chairperson of the Association of

²³ Margaret Connell Szasz, Lecture Notes at the Newberry Seminar on "American Indian Leadership and Identity" on January 10-15, 1994. See her upcoming book on "cultural brokers."

American Indian-Alaska Native Social Workers. Currently, she is the first presidential-appointed Native woman as the Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs in Washington, D.C.²⁴

Chief Wilma Mankiller, also known as Asgaya-Dhi in her Native language, a B.S.W. social worker and community advocate, has remained active in her tribal government for over fifteen years, telling stories from her modest background to share her energy and ideas, and thus to change and improve the conditions of her people.²⁵ Awarded "Woman of the Year" by Ms. Magazine in 1987, Mankiller has earned many honorary degrees from numerous colleges and universities. Today, she serves as the Principle Chief of the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma, representing the second largest tribe in the Nation. She has pooled private and public moneys to construct and revitalize her Nation and has a strong commitment to the improvement of rural development and self-sufficiency. In late April, 1994, she was standing next to President Clinton advocating for the improvement of federal and tribal intergovernmental relationships and communication as well as the betterment of social, housing, and health conditions of her people and other tribes. She became a nationally recognized Native American symbol of leadership in two worlds. Her vision, wisdom, and spirituality continues to guide her people, and also serve as a role model to white Americans for the

²⁴ Some of Ada's biography information was obtained from Owanah Anderson, Ohoyo One Thousand: A Resource Guide of American Indian/Alaska Native Women (Washington: U.S. Department of Education, 1982), 34. This is a collection of 1,000 Native American women in varying leadership roles with personal commentary provided for the reader. Charlotte Goodluck, author, is referred to on page 47.

²⁵ Mankiller, Mankiller: A Chief and Her People. In this well written, entertaining, and enjoyable book, Wilma tells about her family and tribal history. Family photos and personal anecdotal material covers over 20 generations (tribal chronology) of struggle and empowerment by one woman, her gifts of leadership, and political savvy.

interconnectedness of all living beings. She is an example of a person who transcends race, class, and gender. Through her many accomplishments, strength of character, and spirituality one can see if there is ever to be another "Beloved Woman" of the Cherokee people, Wilma Mankiller is her.

These three women remain "leaders" in both public and private spheres.²⁶ "The number of women in tribal leadership have grown immensely," according to one Native American historian. "Women function as council members and tribal chairs for at least one-fourth of the federally recognized tribes. In 1981 . . . sixty-seven American Indian tribes had women heads of state."²⁷

Native women leaders exist in each tribal community but few achieve national visibility; despite the lack of media attention, they are crucial to maintaining their tribal and familial ways of life in an ever changing world. "True tribal tradition recognizes the importance of women. Contrary to what you've probably read in history books, not all tribes were controlled by men."²⁸

Higher education presently seeks Native women's voices and experiences to include in curricula.²⁹ Native women have been available all along, "between two-thirds and three-fourths of the

²⁶ We discussed three national leaders, but there are numerous Native women in political roles at both the local and tribal levels. For example, in Arizona, of twenty-two tribal nations, there are four Native women who are elected presidents or chairs. These include Patricia Madueno, Fort Mojave; Evelyn James, San Juan Southern Paiute; Gloria Bulletts-Benson, Kaibab Paiute; and Jeri Johnson, Tonto Apache.

²⁷ Paula Gunn Allen, The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions (Boston: Beacon Press, 1986), 31.

²⁸ Mankiller, Mankiller, 250.

²⁹ C. Goodluck was a faculty coordinator for a project called "Integrating Minority Women's Content into the Liberal Arts Curriculum"; sponsored by SIROW (Southwest Institute on Research on Women) at the University of Arizona, Northern Arizona University, and the Ford Foundation. An extensive bibliographic resource was produced by the project in 1991.

tribal colleges' students are female."³⁰ To date, society has been blind to their contributions to the national and college environments. Historians and anthropologists control the majority of the accounts of Native women, using out of date research techniques that often exclude "women's voices." Women's Studies and Native American Studies programs are the places to learn about current research in these areas and to obtain current bibliographies on Native women.³¹ These programs fill gaps and partly remedy the "low visibility" and "unheard voices" of Native women. The need for the inclusion of Native peoples and Native women in "dominate" literature still remains. The history of Native peoples needs to be revised, reconstructed, and "demythologized" using the voices and experiences of Native women.³² Native American women remain the cornerstone for transmitting language, culture, beliefs and customs of their people in spite of the horrific and destructive policies of the United States Government. The counterproductive Dawes Act, reservation system, Indian Removal Act, missionary efforts, boarding schools, urban relocation programs, and termination efforts changed the structure of tribal groups, but did not diminish the determination of Native women to endure.

Native woman provide leadership by fostering the extended family and clan, empowering the tribal ways, and guiding

³⁰ Marjane Ambler, "Women Leaders in Indian Education," 10.

³¹ An example of scholarly bibliographies can be found in Andrey Timberlake, et al., Women of Color and Southern Women: A Bibliography of Social Science Research, 1975-1988 (Memphis: Center of Research on Women, 1988). Further bibliographical information can be located in the authors' Bibliographies at the end of this article.

³² Nancy Shoemaker, "Teaching the Truth about the History of the American West," The Chronicle of Higher Education (October 27, 1993): A48.

spiritual practices. In diverse ways, Native women lead tribes and their nations. A sociological concept of "retribalization" is present in the action of today's women leaders.³³ The women gained power through the "old" ways in order to survive, and now they have become leaders in the "new-OLD-world."

To simply consider Annie Wauneka, Ada Deer, and Wilma Mankiller as major symbols and role models in a diverse intertribal network among nations hides the point. If the vision expands to include women at all levels a more comprehensive, honest, and realistic picture emerges of Native women as leaders in tribal life today. In Diné philosophy, "Changing Woman" represents a way of life based on harmony, beauty, and power tied into the nation's spirituality and connectedness to the land. This metaphor, "Changing Woman," is present in women leaders of today and tomorrow.³⁴

Like spirituality and tradition
Being a Native woman is in the heart and soul
It is what drives us
And makes us who we are

Like our Mother Earth that feeds, shelters and provides for us
Like the eagle that soars in search of food for her young
Like the mother wolf protecting and teaching her cubs
Like the doe who leads her fawn
The Native woman educates and leads her children, her tribe

Creation, religion, culture and tradition
Are molded by the Native woman
They reside in the heart and in the soul
They may be pushed to the margins of society
But tradition and spirituality
Being a Native woman

³³Retribalization, defined by Bea Medicine (referred to in a lecture by Chris Atine on April 13, 1994), means "persons who have returned to native and traditional ways to empower themselves."

³⁴A side note by Charlotte Goodluck regarding the Newberry Library Seminar and Native women. Attending the Newberry Library Seminar in January, 1994, on "Native American Leadership and Identity Issues" was a capstone experience for the author. Visiting the Library and discovering more information on Native American women revealed a lack of data on Native American women throughout the holdings. That the Library is sponsoring future seminars on gender and Native Americans is encouraging. I am a Navajo and white social work educator who has been working with Native American students at Northern Arizona University in the area of retention of Native American students. I believe a direct relationship exists between the retention of minority students and the number of Native American faculty and staff in any university setting. Once students see and read about themselves in college offerings their lives are "connected" with the curriculum. The authors see the importance of having publications about Native American women in the Newberry Library and other scholarly places.

Cannot be driven away
They cannot be extinguished

Being a Native women is what we are
It is in our spirituality and tradition
It is in our hearts and souls³⁵

³⁵ This poem called "In the Heart and Soul" by Cheryl-Lynn Humphreys expresses the authors feelings about the importance of spirituality and cognitive dimensions of the Native American woman in today's society.

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CONTENT ANALYSIS
OF
SUGGESTED READINGS

TABLE OF VALUES FOR GENDER
FREQUENCIES

female	male	TOTAL
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34	10	44
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TABLE OF VALUES FOR GENDER
PERCENTS OF TOTAL OF THIS (SUB)TABLE

female	male	TOTAL	N
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77.27	22.73	100.00	44.00
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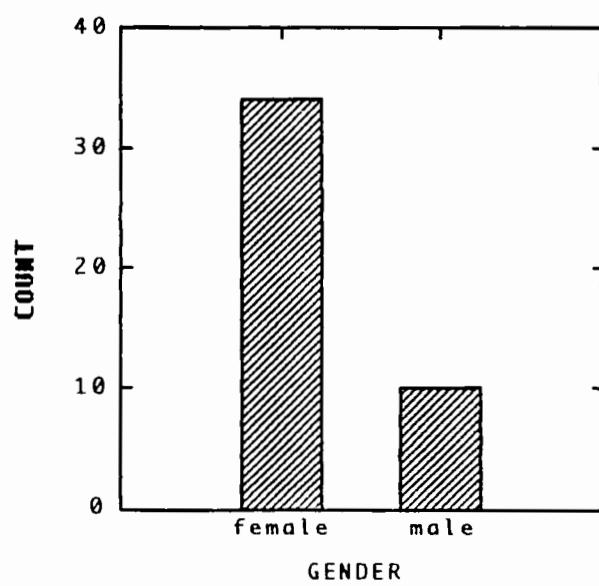


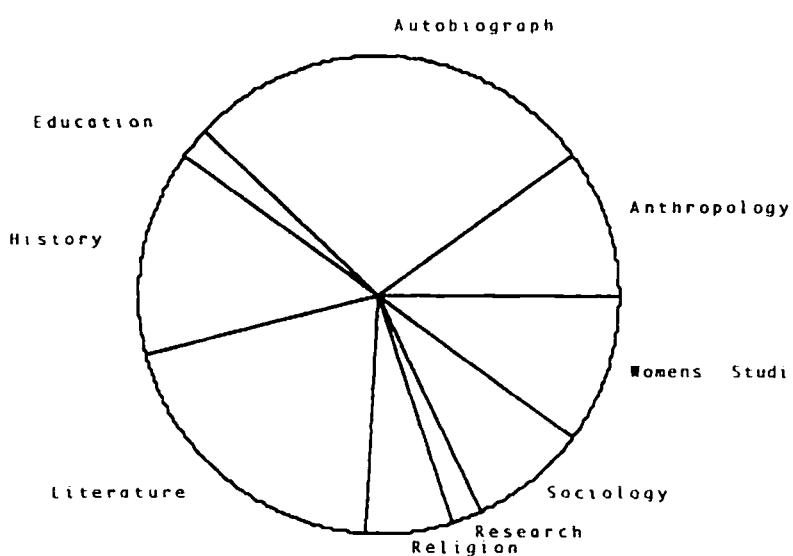
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FREQUENCIES

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Research	Sociolog	Womens		TOTAL	
1	4	5	50		

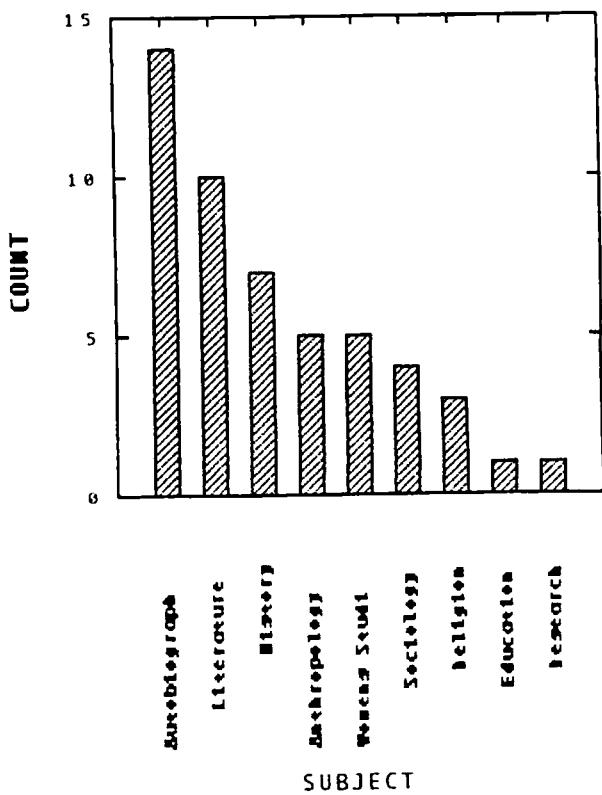
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PERCENTS OF TOTAL OF THIS (SUB)TABLE

Anthropo	Autobiog	Educatio	History	Literatu	Religion
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Research	Sociolog	Womens		TOTAL	N
2.00	8.00	10.00	100.00	50.00	

Discipline/Subjects of Readings



Discipline/Subject of Readings



**American Indians in the Twenty-First Century:
Patterns, Definitions, and Debates¹**

by
Joane Nagel
University of Kansas

Introduction

While estimates vary, the number of indigenous North Americans present when Columbus landed in 1492 numbered in the several millions. The next four hundred years witnessed the dramatic decline of the native population to fewer than 250,000 at the end of the nineteenth century.² The decrease in the number of native people was accompanied by a marked reduction in the number of native societies or "tribes." Distinct language and dialect communities at the time of contact were estimated at over 1000.³

This number had dwindled to around 320 Indian groups or "entities" in the lower forty-eight states that are officially recognized by the United States Department of Interior in the 1990s.⁴

In spite of these declines, the twentieth century has seen a remarkable increase in the American Indian population, from its nadir of 237,196 in 1900, to 1,874,536 in the 1990 census.⁵ This growth is summarized in Table 1. As we can see in Table 1, native population figures for the past 90 years represent a reversal of four centuries of decline in the North American Indian population: beginning with fewer than one half million at the turn of the century, climbing back up to nearly 2 million in 1990. While these trends reflect a tragic pattern of death and

decline, they also reveal an extraordinary trend toward recovery and renewal. The twentieth century resurgence of the American Indian population is a truly remarkable story of ethnic survival and rebirth.

TABLE 1
American Indian Population - 1890-1990

Year	Number	%Change
1890	248,253	
1900	237,196	-5
1910	276,927	17
1920	244,437	-13
1930	343,352	40
1940	345,252	1
1950	357,499	4
1960	523,591	46
1970	792,730	51
1980	1,364,033	72
1990	1,873,536	38

Sources: 1890-1970: Russell Thornton, American Indian Holocaust and Survival (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1987), P.160; figures for 1980 and 1990 are from U.S. Census Bureau, U.S. Bureau of the Census Releases 1990 Census Counts on Specific Racial Groups (Census Bureau Press Release CB9 1-215, Wednesday, June 12, 1991), Table 1.

Population projections undertaken by the U.S. Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) in 1986, suggest that Native American demographic recovery is far from over. The OTA projected the American Indian population for the next century using as a base population the number of Indians in 1980 living in 32 states with

federal reservations according to various degrees of native ancestry (so-called "blood quantum"). Table 2 shows these projections.

TABLE 2

**Office of Technology Assessment: Indian Population Projections
(1980-2080)**

Year	Percent Indian Ancestry (Blood Quantum)			Total
	50% and above	25%-49%	less than 25%	
1980	1,125,746 (86.9%)	123,068 (9.5%)	46,636 (3.6%)	1,295,450 (100.0%)
2080	1,292,911 (8.2%)	5,187,411 (32.9%)	5,187,411 (58.9%)	15,767,206 (100.0%)

Source: C. Matthew Snipp, American Indians: The First of This Land (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1988), p. 167.

As we can see from Table 2, the total increase in the Indian population during the next century is expected to be 12-fold, growing from 1.3 million in 1980 to 15.8 million in 2080. What is especially interesting about these projections is the changing internal composition of Native America. Snipp reports on the projections made by the OTA using Bureau of Indian Affairs blood quantum data and taking "into account the prevalence of racial intermarriage among Indians based on data from the 1980 census."⁶

The OTA projection begins in 1980 with 1.1 million individuals with 50 percent or more Indian ancestry (blood quantum), 120,068 with 25-49 percent native blood quantum, and 46,636 with less than 25 percent native ancestry. A century later, the demographic picture is much different. We see a stable number of Indians with blood quanta of 50 percent or more (1.3 million in 2080). However, we see tremendous growth in the other two categories, with 5.2 million individuals with blood quanta ranging from 25-49 percent and 9.3 million native people with less than one-quarter Indian ancestry. This population explosion of Indians of mixed ancestry reduces the percent of the native population with 50 percent or more Indian ancestry from 86.9 percent of the native population in 1980, to only 8.2 percent of the native population in 2080. Concomitantly, the percentage of the Indian population with 25-49 percent blood quantum rises from 9.5 percent in 1980, to 32.9 percent in 2080, and the percent of the Indian population with less than 25 percent blood quantum increases the most, rising from 3.6 percent of the population in 1980 to 58.9 percent in 2080.

This future portrait of Native America painted by the Office of Technology Assessment is one of increased racial diversity. Its implications are important for understanding what it will mean to be an American Indian in the next century, particularly in light of contemporary controversies about Indian authenticity and debates over what constitutes legitimate claims to Indian ancestry and group membership. The remainder of this paper explores current definitions of Indianness and the debates

surrounding these definitions underway today. Whatever the answers to the questions raised in these discussions and disputes, the decisions made today will have important consequences for the future shape and composition of Native America in the decades and centuries to come.

American Indian Ethnic Pluralism

Since the 1970s, more than half of American Indians have lived in cities.⁷ Although tribal origin and affiliation continue to have enormous currency among these often first generation native urban immigrants, demographic differences have inevitably emerged between urban and reservation Indians in education, health, income, lifestyle, interests, and perspective. These differences reflect the world-wide impact of urbanization on formerly rural populations: increased income and employment, higher levels of education, lower rates of fertility, more intermarriage and native language loss.⁸

Despite a great deal of reservation-urban circular migration, differences between urban Indians and those residing on reservations represents an important ethnic boundary between the two groups, one characterized by some strain and suspicion. One source of this tension is the concern of reservation Indians that their urban co-ethnics have lost touch with reservation needs and concerns while having disproportionate access to power and influence in national arenas governing Indian affairs. In an article entitled, "So Who Really Represents Indian Tribes?" one commentator criticized the prominent role played by "urban Indians" in federal Indian policy, arguing that while educated,

urban Indians are "thoroughly grounded ... in municipal bonds, capital formation, and other esoteric topics ... they do not understand the perspective of tribal leaders, or of Indian people" who must contend with such reservation problems as health, education, housing, cultural preservation, environmental protection, or language preservation.⁹

Urban-reservation differences, while obviously important, represent but one source of diversity among a socially, economically, politically, linguistically, and culturally plural Native American population. Tribal distinctions represent an even greater source of variability. More than 350 Indian tribes and communities in the lower 48 states are separately recognized by federal and state authorities.¹⁰ Each has its own government, legal system, justice system, educational system, and economic, social, and cultural organization.¹¹ These differences are reinforced by geographic distances among tribes and the isolation of many reservations. Historical patterns of conflict, competition, or cooperation also remain a legacy that shades contemporary inter-tribal relations, as does the fact that Indian communities often see one another as competitors for scarce federal funding or federally regulated resources. Competition can become especially bitter when federally non-recognized groups seek access to Indian resources. Challenges to tribal authenticity can result.

For instance, in 1979, the Samish and Snohomish tribes of Puget Sound in Washington State were judged by the federal government to be "legally extinct," and were excluded from native

access to the region's fishing economy. Recognized tribes who had won rights to half of the annual salmon catch in the landmark Federal District Court "Boldt" decision in 1974, opposed the Samish and Snohomish efforts. "It boils down to trying to protect tribal fisheries from groups which the Tulalips [a recognized tribe] view as not genuine Indians."¹² The importance of resource competition in inter-tribal relations can be seen in the situation of the Lumbees of North Carolina. One of the largest tribes in the 1980 census, numbering 26,631,¹³ the Lumbees have long sought federal recognition, only to receive limited acknowledgment with the proviso that the tribe would receive no federal services.¹⁴

There are many such tribes seeking social and federal acceptance as legitimate Indian communities. Their presence represents another level of complexity in Indian ethnicity.

Debates Over Indian Individual and Group Authenticity

Reading the Indian affairs literature and listening to native people, the question of who is really an Indian comes up again and again. The query is often made in an atmosphere of skepticism and sometimes bitter contention.¹⁵ The question is posed to tribes as well as to individuals. For instance, in an "open letter" to the Governor of Georgia, Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma Principal Chief, Wilma Mankiller, denounced the state's decision to officially recognize two groups claiming Cherokee ancestry, expressing concern these groups were "using the Cherokee Nation's name, history, culture, and reputation ... and posing as Indian tribes."¹⁶ Such concerns often arise because of

the potential loss of scarce tribal resources to an ever-increasing pool of collective and individual recipients.

Individual Indian ethnicity is at least as problematic as that of groups, due to wide variability in the criteria and standards of proof of Indian ancestry and Indianness. Again, the doubts and suspicions seem greatest when ethnically-tied resources are at stake, and when benefits are seen to accrue to individuals who claim Indian ancestry or special Indian knowledge. This challenge to authenticity is extended to a wide variety of authors, artists, scholars, and activists, and individuals claiming Indian identity or interests.¹⁷ Again, while the debate here focuses on American Indian ethnic boundaries and issues of authenticity, similar debates can be found in other ethnic communities (African Americans, Asians, Latinos, to name a few) and among other bounded social groups (age, gender, disabled, veterans). In some of these cases, the issues do not center so much on lineage or biology--who is really black or who is really female--rather the focus is on what kind of upbringing, class position, or life experience qualifies an individual to speak for or represent the interests of the group. In other cases, the issues center more on actual personal characteristics (ability to speak Spanish or not; having been in combat or not; degree of disability).¹⁸ In the case of American Indians, the authenticity debate often centers on ancestry,¹⁹ namely, just how much and what kind of Indian background qualifies individuals or groups to have the rights of American Indians.

Another source of controversy concerns how an individual acquires authentic Indian ethnicity--through self-definition or by the acknowledgment of others. Again, resources seem to be a key issue. For instance, at its annual meeting in Phoenix in 1993, the Association of American Indian and Alaskan Native Professors (AAIANP) issued a statement on "ethnic fraud" stressing the importance of official tribal recognition of individuals' Indianness in classifying university students and faculty. The statement was intended to register the organization's concern about "ethnic fraud and offer recommendations to ensure the accuracy of American Indian/Alaska Native identification in American colleges and universities ... and to affirm and ensure American Indian/Alaska Native identity in the hiring process. We are asking that colleges and universities:

"Require documentation of enrollment in a state or federally recognized nation/tribe with preference given to those who meet this criterion..."²⁰

David Cornsilk, assistant director of admissions at Bacone College in Muskogee, Oklahoma, provided this rationale for such a policy:

I believe in membership as the foundation of sovereignty ... I believe the authority of the tribe, the right of the tribe, stems from the group, the community ... I don't believe in the right of self-identification. I believe that's an assault on the right of the group.²¹

Tim Giago, editor of Indian Country Today and The Lakota Times, affirmed the tribal membership approach to establishing Indian authenticity, and underlined the issue of resources in making distinctions between "real" Indians and others who claim Indian

ancestry.

It was in the 1970s that people claiming to be Indian began to take jobs intended for Indians and to write books claiming to be authorities on Indians. These instant "wannabees" did us far more harm than good. Not only did they often give out misleading information about Indians, they also took jobs that left many qualified genuine Native Americans out in the cold... Before you can truly be considered an Indian you must become an enrolled member of a tribe. I think most Indians would agree that this is the only way you can truly be accepted as Indian.²²

Alfonso Ortiz echoed these concerns about scarce resources allocated to self-identified recipients:

These are people who have no business soaking up jobs and grants, people who have made no claim to being Indian up to their early adulthood, and then when there's something to be gained they're opportunists of the rankest stripe, of the worst order ... we resent these people who just come in and when the going's good and skim the riches off the surface.²³

While convincingly argued, this emphasis on official enrollment (membership) in recognized tribes in determining Indian ethnicity is at odds with the way in which most Americans (and perhaps most American Indians) acquire their ethnicity. Though estimates vary, somewhere between two-thirds and one-half of American Indians counted in the 1980 and 1990 censuses were enrolled members of recognized tribes.²⁴ Thus, the official enrollment rule would throw into question the ethnicity of a significant proportion of Americans who designated their "race" as Indian in the U.S. Census, not to mention the millions more who identified an Indian ethnic ancestry on census forms. This restrictive approach to constructing Native American ethnic boundaries is not typical of strategies used by most ethnic groups in contemporary America who often seek to widen ethnic self-definitions in order to compete more effectively in local, state, and national

political arenas. Indeed, the AAIANP's reliance on external (tribal) ascription represents a challenge to the widely-held notion in American society that ethnicity is, at least in part, a private, individual choice (a notion which is shared by the U.S. Census Bureau).

These debates can be trying to the targets of authenticity inquiries, as critical author and activist Ward Churchill's comments reveal:

I'm forever being asked not only my 'tribe,' but my 'percentage of Indian blood.' I've given the matter a lot of thought, and find that I prefer to make the computation based on all of me rather than just the fluid coursing through my veins. Calculated this way, I can report that I am precisely 52.5 pounds Indian--about 35 pounds Creek and the remainder Cherokee--88 pounds Teutonic, 43.5 pounds some sort of English, and all the rest 'undetermined.' Maybe that last part should just be described as 'human.' It all seems rather silly as a means of assessing who I am, don't you think?²⁵

While many methods of calculating individual Indian or tribal authenticity are often ludicrous and sometimes offensive (analyses of urine and earwax, chemical tasting abilities),²⁶ unfortunately, the enterprise is by no means capricious. It turns out to be deadly serious in the many cases where individual and community life-sustaining resources hang in the balance as judgments of "real" Indian authenticity are decided. These cases routinely involve such important matters as child custody rights, health benefits, scholarships, legitimate means of livelihood, land claims, mineral and resource rights and royalty payments, political and criminal jurisdiction, taxation, and a myriad of other personal and financial matters. The truth is embedded in the common sociological fact: while ethnicity is socially and politically constructed, and is thus arbitrary, variable,

constantly negotiated, it is no less real in its consequences.

Changing Definitions of Indianness

Imbedded in many discussions of Indian authenticity and membership regulations is a question about whether the rules defining Indianness and tribal membership should be relaxed or tightened, that is, made more inclusionary or more exclusionary. For instance, Trosper describes the adoption of tighter, more exclusionary enrollment rules by the Flathead Tribe of Montana in response to pressures to "terminate" (i.e., dissolve the federal trust relationship) the tribe in the 1950s. Federal officials charged that Flathead's Salish and Kootenai tribal members were acculturated and no longer needed federal services or protection. This prompted a move by tribal leaders to pursue a kind of ethnic purification strategy by adopting a stricter set of blood quantum rules to designate membership. Thornton reports an opposite, loosening or inclusionary strategy on the part of some non-reservation based groups, mainly in Oklahoma, where such groups as the Cherokees or Choctaws face less competition among members for shares of tribally-held or land-based resources.²⁷ In these instances, inclusion can have positive political consequences in an electoral system, since a relatively large percentage of the Oklahoma population is American Indian.²⁸

Some critics call for the entire abolishment of ancestry or blood quantum regulation of tribal membership, arguing that such rules, particularly when applied by the federal government, tend to heighten tension among Native Americans, creating disunity and suspicion. For instance, activist Russell Means raises questions

about the meaning and legitimacy of ancestry tests of Indianness:²

Our treaties say nothing about your having to be such-and-such a degree of blood in order to be covered... When the federal government made its guarantees to our nations in exchange for our land, it committed to provide certain services to us as we defined ourselves. As nations, and as a people. This seems to have been forgotten. Now we have Indian people who spend most of their time trying to prevent other Indian people from being recognized as such, just so that a few more crumbs--crumbs from the federal table--may be available to them, personally. I don't have to tell you that this isn't the Indian way of doing things. The Indian way would be to get together and demand what is coming to each and every one of us, instead of trying to cancel each other out. We are acting like colonized peoples, like subject peoples.²⁹

Like Means, Stiffarm and Lane challenge the assumptions underlying ancestry and blood quantum tests of Indianness and tribal membership, asking whether American Indians "will continue to allow themselves to be defined mainly by their colonizers, in exclusively racial/familial terms (as 'tribes'), or whether they will (re)assume responsibility for advancing the more general and coherently political definition of themselves they once held, as nations defining membership/citizenship in terms of culture, socialization, and commitment to the good of the group."³⁰ They wonder whether American Indians tribes cannot take seriously their semi-sovereign status with regard to citizenship, bringing "'outsiders'... into their membership by way of marriage, birth, adoption, and naturalization."³¹

Such a strategy would certainly open the door to an expansion of Indian ethnic membership, as well as tribal citizenship, which might be resisted by Indian communities faced with distributing already scarce resources and by a federal bureaucracy attempting to keep the lid on or reduce Indian

expenditures.³² However, many tribes may be forced to come to terms with their own blood quantum rules in the very near future. The rate of racial intermarriage for American Indians is the highest of all American racial categories, with fewer than half of American Indians marrying other Indians, compared with racial endogamy rates of 95 percent and higher for whites, blacks, and Asians.³³ The consequences of this intermarriage is an increase in the number of Indian/non-Indian offspring with ever-diminishing degrees of Indian ancestry. One result of tribal blood quantum restrictions, even as low as one-quarter, is that an increasing proportion of these children will not qualify for tribal membership even though one or both of their parents are tribal members, and despite their having lived on the reservation since birth.³⁴

Conclusion

As we saw at the beginning of this paper, the Native American population is expected to continue to grow during the next century, and that growth will produce an increasingly racially mixed, urban Indian population. Contemporary tensions between reservation and urban native communities and current debates about the rules for determining authentic Indian identity, rights, and tribal membership, have enormous implications for the descendants of today's native people. A case from history might be useful in exploring these implications.

The Yamasees were an indigenous group living in the southeastern United States at the time of European contact with

North America. They no longer exist as an identifiable tribe, and few individuals report Yamasee tribal affiliation.³⁵ The Cherokees, in contrast, have several federally recognized, state recognized, and non-recognized communities, and, in the 1980 census, surpassed the historically numerically dominant Navajo Nation, as the most populous tribe in the United States. Young notes that the Cherokees have been described as acculturated, of mixed ancestry, and successful at adopting white economic and political practices. Challenging the underlying disparagement of these characteristics, Young comments: "Cherokee people today still have a tribal identity, a living language, and at least two government bodies ... That's more than one can say of the Yamasee."³⁶

It is instructive to keep this comparison in mind as we contemplate the future demographic shape of Native America. As we saw in Table 1 above, the 1980 census reported a 72 percent increase in the number of Americans who identified their race as "American Indian." The question has arisen: Are the roughly one half million new Indians in the 1980 census (not to mention the six million respondents who reported some degree of Indian ancestry)³⁷ really Indians? Thornton asks a similar question about the contemporary Cherokee population--a group whose numbers have increased dramatically in recent years (more than 300 percent from 1970 to 1980), increases that account for a good deal of the growth in the total Indian population.³⁸ His answer fits our question as well:

common to all the Cherokees is an identity as Cherokee. All of the 232,344 individuals described here--fully 17 percent of all American Indians in the United States in 1980,

according to the census definition and resulting enumeration-identified themselves as Cherokee. So they are.³⁹

This answer will not be satisfying to those concerned with Indian racial purity and the potential cultural change that many fear will result from the growth and racial mixing of the Indian population.⁴⁰ There is no doubt that native population growth has mixed consequences for American Indian ethnic and cultural survival and change. On the one hand, Indian population increases guarantee the demographic survival of Native American communities and ethnicity. On the other hand are those pitfalls identified by Ron Andrade, a former head of the National Congress of American Indians, who defended tribal membership restrictions (mainly involving degree of Indian ancestry) to avoid a loss of tribal resources to individuals living off-reservation, and to protect against what he viewed as the dilution of tribal cultures and traditions.⁴¹ Yet, as the comparison of the Yamasees and Cherokees suggests, although there may be social, economic, political, and cultural changes caused by Indian population growth and a relaxation of ethnic boundaries, the costs these changes incur may be considerably less than the price of failing to do so.

Endnotes

1. This paper is part of a larger work, American Indian Ethnic Renewal, to be published by Oxford University Press in 1995. Copyright (c) Oxford University Press. Reprinted by permission.
2. Estimates of the number of North American Indians at the time of European contact ranges from 18 million (Henry Dobyns) to fewer than 1 million (Alfred Kroeber). C. Matthew Snipp reports that most estimates range between 2-5 million (American Indians: The First of This Land (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1989), p. 10).
3. John Swanton, The Indian Tribes of North America (Washington, D.C.: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1952). This is a conservative estimate of the number of pre-contact tribes in the lower forty-eight states for two reasons. First, the figure is based on coding procedures which included only separate linguistic groups and their major dialectic and/or regional subdivisions. Villages or bands were often quite autonomous (Driver, Indians of North America; Dobyns, Their Number Become Thinned), but were not included as separate tribes in the coding. Second, Swanton used the early 1600s (over a century after first contact) as his starting point. Many researchers believe that the first century following contact dramatically altered traditional Indian lifestyles and affected the viability of many tribes due to the virulence of Old World diseases that swept across the continent ahead of the waves of European settlers (Dobyns, Their Number Become Thinned).
4. In 1988 the Department of Interior listed 309 recognized tribes in the lower 48 states (Federal Register, "Indian Tribal Entities Recognized and Eligible to Receive Services from the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs" (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1988), pp. 52829-52834). In 1992, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Division of Tribal Government Services identified another 9 recently recognized tribes not appearing on the 1988 list: the Coquille Tribe of Oregon, Kickapoo Traditional Tribe of Texas, San Juan Paiute Tribe of Arizona, Ponca Tribe of Nebraska, Scotts Valley Band of Pomo Indians, California, Lytton Rancheria of California, Guidiville Rancheria of California, Aroostook Band of Micmac Indians of Maine, Mechoopda Indian Tribe of Chico Rancheria (CA) (personal correspondence, August 3, 1992).
5. Snipp, American Indians: The First of This Land; U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Census Bureau Completes Distribution of 1990 Redistricting Tabulations to States," Census Bureau Press Release CB91-100, Monday, March 11, 1991.
6. Snipp, American Indians: The First of This Land, pp. 166ff.

7. See Alan Sorkin, The Urban American Indian (Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1978); U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of the Population, General Population Characteristics: United States, 1990, PC-1-1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1992?), Table 44.
8. See Snipp, American Indians, The First of This Land, for a survey of rural/urban, metropolitan/non-metropolitan, reservation/non-reservation characteristics in the American Indian population; see also Joan Weibel-Orlando, Indian Country, L.A.: Maintaining Ethnic Community in Complex Society (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1991) for a case study of one urban Indian community.
9. "Dean Chavers, "So Who Really Represents Indian Tribes?" Indian Country Today (May 19, 1993), p. A5.
10. In addition to the 318 federally-recognized tribes in the lower 48 states, more than a dozen tribes are recognized by individual states (e.g., the Shinnecocks of New York and the Schaghticokes of Connecticut).
11. For an overview of many tribal political differences, see Sharon O'Brien, American Indian Tribal Governments (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1989).
12. Timothy Egan, "Indians Become Foes in Bid for Tribal Rights," New York Times (September 6, 1992): 8. In an interesting twist in this case, Samish leaders discovered that Judge Boldt died from Alzheimer's disease in 1984. They believe he was suffering from the disease in 1978, a year before he declared their tribe to be legally extinct. Other recognized tribes fear that if the Samish pursue this issue in court, the important (and unpopular with non-Indian fishermen) 1974 Boldt decision guaranteeing native tribes' fishing rights, might also be thrown into question. See also Bruce G. Miller, "The Press, the Boldt Decision, and Indian-White Relations," American Indian Culture and Research Journal 17(1993): 75-97.
13. U.S. Census Bureau, Census of Population, Subject Reports, Characteristics of American Indians by Tribes and Selected Areas: 1980, Volume 2, Section 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1989), Table 1, p. 26.
14. Karen L. Blu, The Lumbee Problem: The Making of an American Indian People (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).
15. For instance, see the introduction and first chapter of James Clifton's edited work, The Invented Indian: Cultural Fictions and Government Policies (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1990), as well as the chapters by some of his contributors (especially David Henige and Stephen Feraca), for a particularly virulent challenge to the ethnic authenticity of a variety of American Indian

individuals and groups; his earlier, Being and Becoming Indian (Chicago: The Dorsey Press, 1989), is a somewhat less acrid inquiry into Indian identity using biographical sketches.

16. Wilma Mankiller, "An Open Letter to Governor of Georgia," Indian Country Today (May 26, 1993), p. A4. Ironically, even the Cherokee Nation itself has been challenged on occasion because of the patterns of intermarriage and cultural blending practiced by many members; see David Baird, "Are there 'Real' Indians in Oklahoma: Historical Perceptions of the Five Civilized Tribes," Chronicles of Oklahoma 6(1990): 4-23.
17. An interesting exception to this is reflected in the enthusiasm of Mashantucket Pequot tribal member, Joseph J. Carter's response to tribal growth following casino gambling successes. "He savors the flood of would-be Indians... 'Hey, everybody wants to be an Mashantucket'" (Francis X. Clines, "With Casino Profits, Indian Tribes Thrive," New York Times (January 31, 1993): A18).
18. For an interesting discussion of the emergence of deaf culture and "ethnicity," with its own language, culture, outlook, and boundary disputes, see Edward Dolnick, "Deafness as Culture," Atlantic (September, 1993): 37-53.
19. See Henry Louis Gates, Jr., "'Authenticity,' or the Lesson of Little Tree," New York Times Book Review (November 24, 1991): 1, 26-28. In addition, questions of upbringing, membership in an Indian community, lifestyle, and outlook can also arise.
20. Press release, Association of American Indian and Alaskan Native Professors, June 28, 1993. The notion of ethnic fraud appears to be gaining some attention. In an October, 1993 conference sponsored by the American Council on Education in Houston, Jim Larimore (Assistant Dean and Director of the American Indian Program at Stanford University) and Rick Waters (Assistant Director of Admissions at University of Colorado, Boulder) presented a session, "American Indians Speak Out Against Ethnic Fraud in College Admissions." The session was designed to "identify the problem and its impact on the American Indian community... [and to] discuss effective institutional practices for documenting and monitoring tribal affiliations" [American Council on Education, "Educating One-Third of a Nation IV: Making Our Reality Match our Rhetoric" (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1993)].
21. Jerry Reynolds, "Indian Writers: Real or Imagined," Indian Country Today 13(September 8, 1993): A3. These concerns about ethnic fraud parallel a wider skepticism about ethnic claims in general (not just those of Native Americans) when

rights, jobs, and resources are at stake. In discussing the minority status of a particular individual, a fellow academic once told me, "I don't know if s/he's really a(n) _____, or has just found a horse to ride to tenure."

22. Tim Giago, "Big Increases in 1990 Census not Necessarily Good for Tribes," Lakota Times (March 12, 1991): 3.
23. Jerry Reynolds, "Indian Writers: Real or Imagined," Indian Country Today 13(September 8, 1993): A1.
24. The Indian Health Service conducted a survey of federally recognized tribes to obtain tribal enrollment figures in 1986, and counted 746,175 enrolled members in 213 tribes in the lower 48 states (see Edgar Lister, "Tribal Membership Rates and Requirements," unpublished table (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Indian Health Service, 1987). This is a significant undercount, since there are more than 350 recognized tribes. However, most of the more sizeable tribes (e.g., the Navajos and Cherokees of Oklahoma) were included in the survey. The 1980 and 1990 census figures for American Indians were 1,364,033 and 1,873,536 respectively (see U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Census Bureau Releases 1990 Census Counts on Specific Racial Groups" (Census Bureau Press Release CB91-215, Wednesday, June 12, 1992), Table 1.
25. Quoted in M. Annette Jaimes, "Federal Indian Identification Policy: A Usurpation of Indigenous Sovereignty in North America," in The State of Native America: Genocide, Colonization, and Resistance, ed. M.A. Jaimes (Boston: South End Press, 1992), p. 123. Churchill has been singled out for particularly virulent attacks on his ethnic authenticity, see the series of articles, columns, and letters in Indian Country Today, beginning with the September 8, 1993 issue.
26. Snipp, American Indians: The First of This Land, pp. 30-31.
27. Russell Thornton, "Tribal History, Tribal Population, and Tribal Membership Requirements," Newberry Library Research Conference Report No. 8: "Towards a Quantitative Approach to American Indian History," (Chicago: Newberry Library, 1987).
28. The proportion of Oklahomans who are Indian was 12.9 percent in 1990 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Census Bureau Completes Distribution of 1990 Redistricting Tabulations to States," Census Bureau Press Release CB91-100, Monday, March 11, 1991).
29. Ibid., p. 139.
30. Lenore A. Stiffarm and Phil Lane, Jr., "The Demography of Native North America: A Question of American Indian Survival," p. 45.

31. Ibid., p. 45.
32. For instance, in 1986, the Reagan administration put forth a proposal to adopt an official 1/4 blood quantum definition of "Indian" for the purposes of receiving services from the Indian Health Service. Tribal organizations, led by the National Congress of American Indians, protested and lobbied effectively to stop the effort. There is no reason to believe that will be the last such attempt. See Jaimes, "Federal Indian Identification Policy: A Usurpation of Indigenous Sovereignty in North America," pp. 133ff.
33. Snipp, American Indians: The First of This Land, p. 157. See also, Gary D. Sandefur and Trudy McKinnell, "American Indian Intermarriage," Social Science Research 15(1986):347-371; Russell Thornton, Gary D. Sandefur, and C. Matthew Snipp, "American Indian Fertility Patterns: 1910 and 1940 to 1980," American Indian Quarterly 15(1991): 359-367.
34. Despite a growth in the number of Native Americans of less than one-half or one-quarter Indian ancestry, estimates of the total American Indian population over the next century predict increases among those whose ancestry is more than 50 percent native [U.S. Office of Technology Assessment, Indian Health Care (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1986)].
35. For example, in both published and unpublished lists of tribal affiliations coded from the 1980 census, there were no Yamasees, although I have seen some native scholars report their ancestry as Yamasee.
36. Mary Young, "Pagans, Converts, and Backsliders, All: A Secular View of the Metaphysics of Indian-White Relations," in The American Indian and the Problem of History, ed. C. Martin, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 81.
37. See Snipp, American Indians: The First of This Land.
38. The number of Cherokees increased from 1970-1980 by 166,194. While this number is considerably less than the 571,000 increase in the total Indian population during the 1970-1980 period, Cherokee population growth represents 29.1 percent of the total increase (Russell Thornton, C. Matthew Snipp, and Nancy Breen, "Appendix: Cherokees in the 1980 Census," in R. Thornton, The Cherokees: A Population History (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), pp. 178-203).
39. Thornton, The Cherokees: A Population History, p. 175.
40. See Vine Deloria, Jr., "The New Indian Recruits: The Popularity of Being Indian," Americans Before Columbus 14(1986): 3-4, 7-8.

41. Ron Andrade, "Are Tribes too Exclusive?" American Indian Journal IV (1980): 13. Andrade referred to individuals seeking to profit financially from Indian tribal membership, but not willing to participate in tribal life and reservation development as "Indians of convenience." In contrast, critics of restrictive tribal enrollment criteria, point out that tribal councils and enrolled tribal members can also be seen to profit personally from their participation in tribal life and reservation development (M. Annette Jaimes, personal communication, April, 1994).

**American Indians, American Racism:
On Race, Eugenics, and "Mixed-Bloods"**

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Introduction: "One 'Red Race' of People"

In this ahistorical era of heightened contradiction and controversy over American citizenry and national character, there has been a persistent insistence by American Indian tribes that they, and not the U.S. government, hold the right to define tribal membership and therefore Indian identification, as differentiated from their U.S. citizenship. Traditionally, most tribes have determined their members by cultural rather than political criteria, and as Native nationhood. This is in contrast to any "scientific" approach with a racial construct used to determine "blood quantum" formulations. Actually, there is no factual evidence that indigenous peoples of the Americas, prior to the European conquest, applied a concept of "race" to their traditional membership; which, in fact, included "whites" as well as "mixed-bloods" via naturalization and adoption. After the conquest and forced assimilation, one does run across references in Indian dialogue that a particular group sees itself as a national entity, in terms of their communal conceptualization of nationhood as "a people." Yet, this is not the same as the perception and promotion of themselves as a distinct "race" of people that has come forth in federal Indian policy-making. A famous Shawnee leader, Tecumseh for example, did refer to a "red race" of Native people, and others used terms

like "full-blood," "mixed-blood," and "halfbreed."¹ However, it is the position of this paper that such terms meant different things between Natives and non-Natives.

Euroamericans designated all "New World" Indians as one single "race," predicated on ideas of "purity of race" and culture. This ideology later resulted in a tropism of a "race construct" linked with ethnicity and nationality. A group of intellectual reformers, calling themselves "Friends of the Indians," in contrast to those who wanted to keep on killing Indians among the military and government leaders in the nineteenth century, went so far as to declare Indians "blank slates" in order to build a case for their "Americanization" as lower status citizens.² This eurocentric preoccupation and construction on "race" can be found in the nineteenth century racial/racist doctrines that were based on prevailing pseudoscientific theories. These were times in the mid-1800s when "white" scientists measured skulls of Natives, called Crania Americana, to compare and contrast with other racial types in order to justify "a case for Indian inferiority."³ Such blatant pseudo-science was meant to establish a theoretical framework that ordered and explained human variety, as well as to distinguish superior races from inferior ones. In this racial hierarchy, Indians were in competition with African/Black Americans as the lowest "race of mankind," in what was referred to as "the great chain of being" by racist social scientists.⁴ Such eurocentric orthodoxy has since been soundly disputed as European pseudoscience, which the euroamericans took to quite

readily as a rationale for race oppression upon colonized peoples as "groups of color." This overlooked those eighteenth century patriarchal ideals of the Enlightenment among western europeans that espoused all humankind as one brotherhood. However, the biblical origin myths prevailed in espousing a "christian-derived" parentage among them that envisioned a "white" Adam and Eve. This essay will address the areas of: 1) traditional Native identity in contrast to the later U.S. colonization; 2) eugenics coding that has contributed to American racism; 3) the status of "mixed-blood identities" in Indian/Tribal populations; and will close with 4) who is Indigenous to the Americas.

Traditional Native Identity and U.S. Colonization

"New World" Indians were perceived as "savages" and "heathens" by the Spanish, and at the same time they burnt "heretics" during the Spanish Inquisition to justify their imperial aims. By the sixteenth century, entire indigenous peoples to this hemisphere had been wiped out both physically and culturally. Such racist-based programs ignored the diversity that was evident among Native groups. This is so but only in the context that all indigenous peoples share common beliefs and values in a universal world view. In pre-columbian times, traditional Native peoples designated their societies more often than not on matrilineal descent, with few exceptions to patrilineal descent in tracing their ancestry. Both led to elaborate kinship traditions through clan structures or moieties. These clans respected the plant and animal worlds as living and spirit entities, in what cultural anthropologists called "animism".

and totemism."⁵ Generally speaking, then, there are more indigenous cultures that trace relationship through the mother (as matrilineality), in comparison to those of the father (as patrilineality). These communal societies also had spheres of matrifocal and/or patrifocal influence and decision-making among their members (in anthropological terms). Hence, some spheres were designated by gender as well as age, the latter in designating leadership and authority of these spheres among senior members as elders. For example, women among the oldest Southwest tribes (i.e., Pimas/Maricopas, Hopis, etc.) had decision-making control in the education of the younger generations as well as in agrarian activities. This is in comparison to the males, who had more visible influence in religious ceremonies, but all members participated in communal rituals. Yet, it does not seem to be the case that traditional Native societies were matriarchies, as some feminists, Native as well as non-Native, attempt to claim.⁶ Instead, the majority among them were matrilineal since it was much easier to trace a child from its mother. These kinship systems, consequently, allowed for much influence and power for decision-making among the women in what are the closest models to egalitarianism in many Native societies.

In more contemporary times, membership has been determined by some tribes to require birth on the reservation while some hold to a "grandfather clause" that accepts all identified as members before a certain date regardless of other factors. There are assimilationist "policies," in contrast to traditional

customs, that have been influenced by mandated federal rules and regulations which are primarily implemented by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Established in 1820, in the U.S. (Continental) Office of War, this Bureau is now under the auspices of the U.S. Department of Interior, and has been criticized by many Indians as a vehicle for bureaucratic oppression." Yet, the BIA is still thought by these same Indians as a "necessary evil" since it symbolizes the federal obligations to Indians, which is based on treaty-making and other agreements. Therefore, in this more modern context there are found a variety of internally-deduced cultural and kinship criteria to determine tribal membership. This may or may not coincide with the government's externally-imposed policies of Indian identification process as primarily "blanket-policies" implemented and regulated by several agencies of the federal bureaucracy. One situation that today reflects this conflict has resulted in pressure for tribal councils to have "civil rights codes" written into their Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) constitutions (mandated by congressional legislation in 1934), and that at times intrudes with the exercise of "tribal sovereignty" in their internal affairs. This situation is even more complex when, as in the case of Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez (436 U.S. 49, 1978), a male-dominated leadership, among this Pueblo society in New Mexico, was able to take membership away from one of its women and her children for marrying a Navajo man outside of the tribe. This case reflects what has been called a "trickle-down patriarchy" due to its IRA reorganization forced upon the Pueblo

people by the U.S. government. This is also in contrast with its pre-IRA tradition of matrilineality that existed among Pueblo people in the Southwest which would have prevented this legal decision by a skewed male-dominated leadership on the Pueblo council.⁸

This usurpation of indigenous sovereignty in North America has a long history which involved european-spawned racial theories that developed into Federal Indian policy. The "blood quantum" stipulation first emerged from the interpretations of the General (Dawes) Allotment Act of 1887, which congressionally mandated the requirement that all eligible Indian individuals for allotments must be at least "one half or more Indian blood."⁹ Such restrictive determination of who can identify as an "Indian" for federal entitlements has been problematic in the inconsistencies and contradictions found in Federal Indian Policy throughout the twentieth century. This trend has since gotten worse since its escalation during Republican presidential administrations as during the Reagan/Bush years. As I have stated in my earlier work on this subject: "The blood-quantum mechanism most typically used by the federal government to assign identification to [Indian] individuals over the years is as racist as any conceivable policy... The restriction of federal entitlement funds to cover only the relatively few Indians who meet quantum requirements, essentially a cost-cutting policy at its inception, has served to exacerbate tensions over the identity issue among Indians... Thus, a bitter divisiveness has been built into Indian communities and national policies,

sufficient to preclude achieving the internal unity necessary to offer any serious challenge to the status quo.¹⁰

The Allotment Act was designed to break up the communal land base of a particular tribe by dividing up land parcels to individual members. It was meant to coerce them into "white man's civilization" while rationalizing their Christian salvation from "savagery." As a result of this Act, there was even a campaign for non-Indian men to marry Indian women among the allottees, since the landholding would convert to the husband's control as the patriarchal head of the family. And, in some cases, this led to the early death of the Indian wife, giving clear transfer title to the "white" male spouse in these situations.¹¹ The hidden agenda in this legislation, which soon became apparent, was to coopt the land for non-Indian usage and eventual ownership, since those Indians who "failed" as farmers by going into debt either leased or sold out their land parcels to non-Indians. This in turn, led to what is described as the "checkerboarding" of non-Indian holdings that became interspersed among the Indian allotments; Cherokee communities in Oklahoma are a case-in-point. As a drastic consequence of the Allotment campaign in this forced assimilation, the cost to Indian peoples has been at least two-thirds of their landbases expropriated by the federal government held under a "trusteeship" to Indians, and with cooperation from individual non-Indians. It can be estimated that this has resulted in 100 out of 150 million acres stolen by non-Indians with government complicity. In addition, there were also "surplus" lands declared by the federal

government once all "blooded" Indians were "allotted," and these were quickly opened up to non-Indian settlement, as well as the seizure of natural resources on Native lands.¹²

Due to the imposed exclusion policy on Native Americans, these are times when most tribes today have succumbed to requiring an enrollment process and recordkeeping in order to insure "federal-recognition," as well as federal funding, through the Department of Interior via the Bureau of Indian Affairs. These quasi-national entities may designate a different requirement of "blood quantum" compared to the BIA criteria of "quarter-blood" or none at all; the Bureau reduced this standard from the "half-blood" quantum required in the Allotment/Dawes Act as a result of the pressure to acknowledge the high degree of intermixing among American Indians. The Cherokees of Oklahoma are often illustrated for not requiring any "blood-quantum" standard, which has contributed to their high membership population (approximately 240,000). There is indication, however, that in order to apply for tribal membership, one has to first meet certain BIA criteria (as noted on the Cherokee membership application) that requires a "Certificate of Degree of Indian Blood."¹³ According to the latest data on American Indian tribes, they have recently surpassed the Navajo/Dine population (approximately 200,000) in numbers, but not in landbase.¹⁴ Yet, the Cherokees are restricted to tracing their Indian descent through the controversial 1887 Dawes Rolls (as listed in the Allotment Act), prepared by the federal government for designated allotments among "eligible" members on tribal rolls. Allotment

has since been severely criticized, among historians and policy analysts in both Natives and non-Native scholarship, including the arrangement of marriages with "whites." This intermarriage was at the expense of the Cherokee allottees who eventually lost their lands. As reported in the 1928 Merriam Report, these tribal rolls included many non-Indians who were put on them due to the chicanery of non-Native BIA commissioners. This led to the dispossession of traditional Indians from their homeland, as well as the cultural deprivation of Oklahoma Cherokees.¹⁵ There are also the varying degree of "blood-quantum" requirements to none-at-all among the Sioux (Lakotas and Dakotas). And the most recent tribe to scrap the blood quantum requirement in their tribal constitution are the Osage in Oklahoma, but tribal enrollees have to have descendants on the 1906 Osage rolls.¹⁶

Throughout the twentieth century, traditional kinship systems among Native cultures and their societies still survive, even if discreetly practiced, as can be attested to by cultural anthropologists and more recently sociologists, as well as the tribal members themselves.¹⁷ These kinship traditions are also in the context of what they hold in common as Native Nations with other indigenous peoples to the Americas, such as the Northwest fishing societies and the Pueblos of the Southwest, as well as los Indios of Central and South America. This is so even though there has been a systemic and effective campaign to diffuse and confuse these "Indian identity" issues. At a 1969 congressional hearing, it was stated in testimony: "Questions of identity often trouble modern Indian youth, especially those of mixed Indian and

white ancestry. Is being Indian a matter of adopted life-style and point of view, they wonder, or of physical appearance and the amount of genetic Indian-ness, which is traced by reconstructing a family tree?"¹⁸ Therefore, what contributes to the confusion are the various ways used to define and enumerate American Indians as a federal entitlement population in the U.S. These include: 1) legal definitions, such as enrollment in an American Indian tribe; 2) self-declaration, as in more liberal U.S. census enumerations; 3) community recognition, for example, other Indians or tribal members; 4) recognition by non-Indians; 5) biological definitions, such as blood quantum (which is being condemned for being a racist and genocidal policy by international human rights tribunals as well as by indigenous peoples; 6) cultural definitions (which may include subjective determination, such as knowing one's native language to "acting" like an "Indian").¹⁹

There are other systemic strategies in this colonization process to dispossess the Indians from their lands, and it was the allotment years that preceded a grander scheme of western expansionism. As illustration, the Dawes Act of 1887 clearly demonstrates other economic determinants than the mere overflow of cash from the federal treasury into the utilization of "blood quantum" to negate Native individuals out of existence. The huge windfall of land expropriated by the U.S., as a result of this act, was only the tip of the iceberg. For instance, in constricting the acknowledged size of Indian populations, the government could technically meet its obligations to reserve

"first rights" for water usage to non-Indian agricultural, ranching, municipal and industrial use in the arid West. The same principle pertains to the assignment of fishing quotas in the Pacific Northwest, a matter directly related to the development of a lucrative non-Indian fishing industry in that bioregion.²⁰

Such racially constructed policy is indicative of an advanced stage of U.S. post-modernist colonization in the state of Native America. These race politics are succinctly stated by Rayna Green, curator of Native American Studies at the Smithsonian (Wash. D.C.): "There is a kind of 'ethnic cleansing' going on..." She was referring to the politics of "Indian Identity" over issues of who can or cannot claim to be "recognized" as a "legitimate" American Indian in these times, which is interpreted from the amended Indian Arts and Crafts Act of 1990 (P.L. 101-644-1104 Stat. 4662). This was actually her response to being targeted by "Indian Identity police" herself, for not being an "enrolled" Cherokee. However, the tribal chair of the Cherokee Nation, Wilma Mankiller, has come out in support of Green as a respected individual among the Cherokee, regardless of her "unenrolled" Cherokee status given she has done much good for the Cherokee people.²¹ Such individual attacks on "non-federally-recognized" Indians, who have neither "BIA certification" nor tribal affiliation, are nothing more than a kind of race-baiting that has tragic consequences resulting in ethno-racism and autogenocide among Native peoples. This is the case, even though many of those targeted have documentation that

traces their family trees to Native descendancy. Those who can't "prove" they are Indian are also being accused of "ethnic fraud" by some self-serving Indian spokespersons and organizations.²² Such charges seem to be underlined with neo-fascist tendencies regarding motives among the accusers. Questions arise as to whether or not a Native individual or group needs be identified as Indian by genealogy, as in kinship relations, and/or culturally. The latter situation comes at a time when many Native cultures are under siege by mainstream society and threatened as endangered lifeways. However, it is assessed that the matter is not so much a problem among those who are trying to pass themselves off as "Indians." It is rather the tragic results of U.S. colonization that has created neo-conservative, tribal, elite cultural brokers who are guilty of corruption brought on by Indian and tribal partisan politics. Hence, these discrediting campaigns can be based more on disinformation, rumormongering, and just plain mean spiritedness where the person under attack is thought of as guilty until s/he can prove otherwise and the damage is done. Those individuals and families who are victimized in this way have decisions imposed upon them since they are out-of favor by those in control, and which is often sanctioned by the BIA technocrats and federal authorities.

Eugenics Coding and American Racism

Eugenics coding is not new to the eurocentric historiography, and the U.S. is no exception. Other groups of color and creed have been defined in such racialist terms, as when Africans were coded by "blood" to designate their ability to

be "good" and "strong" slaves, as criteria used for "beasts of burden." Even after the Civil War and the "emancipation" of the African slaves in U.S. society, the "one drop rule" still prevailed to determine if an individual was to be racially classified as a "Negro." An attorney, Brian Begue, made this statement in an appellate court, "If you're a little bit white, you're black. If you're a little bit black, you're (sic) still black."²³ This is the antithesis of how "American Indians" or "Native Americans" are determined to date, based on "blood quantum" formulations that require the minimum BIA standard of "quarter-blood" for "federal-recognition" and more recently "tribal membership" among some groups. As the process works, this means that anything below that quantum defines an individual out of his Native ancestry and heritage. In 1972, intertribal organizations in the U.S. wrote a manifesto they titled the "Twenty Points" which listed grievances as a result of U.S. colonization among disenfranchised and dispossessed Native Americans. One of these points denounced the BIA implementation of "blood quantum" criteria as a racist and genocidal policy to terminate the rights of Native peoples, as individuals and tribal groups.²⁴ There are even those who advocate that the blood quantum degree should be increased, from "quarter-blood" to "half-blood" (as initially indicated in the 1887 Dawes Act), and with some tribal spokespersons now advocating a "racially-pure" Indian people among their own. This goes against current research on "genetic markers" that indicate there is a high degree of racial-mixing among Native populations to North

America, which was even evident in pre-Columbian times.²⁵ This would also violate traditional kinship taboos that prohibit incest while encouraging exogamy among Native Nations. Tribal entities with small population, such as the Turtle Mountain Chippewa tribe (in North Dakota), would be most effected, and with all the attendant health problems due to inbreeding among themselves.

In the state of Hawaii, the 50% blood quantum has prevailed since its imposition by the U.S. authorities, to determine who is eligible to call themselves a Native Hawaiian. A "People's Tribunal" on Native Hawaiian Sovereignty was held in Hawaii in 1993. There were nine notable international judges who included among their recommendations, after hearing several days of testimony among the indigenous population of the Islands, that "(#5) Blood quantum standards of identification should be immediately suspended..."²⁶ As Haunani Kay Trask states, "We (the Native Hawaiians) are the only population that are defined racially on the Islands... We traditionally determined our membership by genealogy that is connected with the land, and which is different than race."²⁷ Hence, these racist and genocidal polices have nothing to do with pre-columbian indigenous traditions and kinship structures, which is a land-based culture and nationhood and manifested in Native spirituality; that is until the coming of the racially preoccupied euroamericans.

This xenophobic perception of distinct and absolute races, with those of western european stock deemed "superior" in

contrast to "inferior" ones, and which is predicated on skin color as well as other physical traits, has the underlying but unproven assumption of a "purity of racial blood." This also manifested in Nazi Germany, and with horrifying consequences and tragedy, mass murder to medical atrocities as documented in World War II records, to those who did not fit the Nazi ideal of the German "super race." In what he calls "The Nazi Connection" (Oxford University Press, 1994), Stefan Kuhl makes astonishing linkages with Nazi "race policies" and American eugenicists as collaborators in what is known as the International Eugenics Movement.²⁸ Historical analysis of Hitler's leadership has also led to the German Nazi correlation that the Furher's recorded interest in the earlier U.S. genocidal campaign targeting early Native peoples, was seen as a model to be emulated for his "Jewish Solution" during World War II.²⁹ Ward Churchill's treatise for "a functional definition of genocide" has laid out the premise that the containment policy in South Africa's apartheid against the indigenous peoples in that country has also been influenced by the U.S. established reservation system.³⁰

In the racist history particular to the U.S., the color lines were drawn on southern Europeans and Asian groups who were targeted for entry and citizenship restrictions by immigration quotas. These restrictions were provoked since large numbers of Asian Americans due to Asian immigrations to the U.S. posed a threat to the diffusion of "white" American citizens during this country's growth years.³¹ There were also U.S. miscegenation laws on the books to discourage euroamericans from marrying a person

of "color." These were officially struck down in 1968, due to civil rights legislation that is since being dismantled. But there is some evidence that some states, not exclusive to the South and more recently in the Northwest states, covertly and illegally still implement them.³² During the 1940 war years and into the 1960s, America's Indians were mainly out of sight while contained on the reservations, or they were only visible as alcoholics on skidrow, mostly among the male population coming back from the war and suffering their combat experiences.³³ Among the latter, many Indian vets became recipients of federal programs in the 1960s, ironically to assist them in making the transition from reservation to urban life in the big cities, while at the expense of relinquishing their tribal community status among their own peoples.

The post-industrial, high tech modernization is an advanced stage of institutional racism that permeates the whole of U.S. society. This is manifested in its salience as well as signification of its race, gender, and class distinctions in hierarchical and elitist structures. In U.S. history, there is a strain of American racism that is unique to this country, but which is nevertheless predicated on eurocentric myths interpreted from biblical scripture that a "chosen" people are meant to have dominion over Nature and others as they subdue the Earth (Genesis I, Verse 28).³⁴ This can be called theological racism, which the Anglo Americans who settled in this country called it their "manifest destiny." This was in order to justify the conquest and colonization of early indigenous peoples and their lands to

the Americas, and in the context of the arrogant "Doctrine of Discovery" by european imperialism. Referred to as "christian nationalism," it evolved in order to rationalize imperialism by a Protestant crusade in the U.S.³⁵ A biological ideology to justify this race teleology was later extrapolated from Newtonian physics and Darwinian economics, but which has been debunked as pseudo-scientism. As a first power with second class and even third world people among its "ethnic-minorities," the U.S. is guilty in its treatment of all groups of people who do not meet their euroamerican ideals, and according to physical characteristics as well as their perception of "moral" character. In its mainstream xenophobia against others with cultural as well as biological differences, it is also guilty of the violation of basic human rights. And it has been particularly avaricious in targeting indigenous peoples in visible acts of genocide and ethnocide that can be correlated with ecocide in what is now being called environmental racism.

There is an increasing amount of documentation on environmental racism, due to Indian lands being targeted first for military sites, uranium mining, and toxic waste dumps. In the Southwest, the Four Corners area and Black Mesa, among the Dine and Hopi in Arizona, and Acoma and Laguna Pueblo in New Mexico, were declared "national sacrifice areas" in the 1970s by the Nixon Administration,³⁶ and Native inhabitants were treated as expendable people on their own homelands. This game plan can also be correlated with the ecological racism that denies Native groups their first rights claims to water and other natural

resources found on their designated landbases.³⁷ There is also the destruction by pro-development schemes that cause land erosion, highway construction, and damming of communities and sacred sites on their indigenous lands. At the same time, there is a prevailing eurocentric mind-set by those who lament the passing of traditional native peoples and their cultures, as in bygone days, while proclaiming that these groups are participating in their own demise since they get in the way of "progress."³⁸ There is no other word for this other than genocide, both cultural and biological, with indigenous peoples throughout the globe and especially in third world countries, finding themselves under siege due to pro-development agendas. Any indigenous group that continues to resist their destruction by corporate domination and coercion to the pro-development technological paradigm is to be stigmatized as backward and primitive. There is also this insidious prejudice that negates Native peoples' environmental rights by referring to them as "ecological noble savages," inspired by romantic literati in the past to be taken up by present-day satiricists in journalism.³⁹

Those tribal groups who succumb to pro-development schemes, and which are often correlated with Indian gaming, find they are denigrated for not behaving like "Indians" by environmental fundamentalists and others who do not want the competition. These tribal decisions are often made in order to build some kind of self-sufficiency after long years of poverty and colonization in the U.S. On the other hand, there is a highly visible group of "cultural brokers" in the Indian world who have a record of

opportunism, as well as a "progressive" trend among tribal leaders, who succumb to what has been called "economic bribery" at the expense of the well-being of the constituency. One such recent scenario, to illustrate the latter group, is the decision of the Mescalero Apache tribal council to negotiate a nuclear dump site in their community, and against the protests of their own people.⁴⁰ It is a "catch 22" that Native peoples find themselves in, in the dialectics of their survival. At the same time, we are seeing the facts come to light in that the U.S. is still on the path of its imperialist designs for conquest and colonization, which first led to the subjugation of this hemisphere's original inhabitants in the formation of its race conscious nationalism. As the only "superpower" in the world, it is now in collaboration with transnational corporations and other second and third rate world powers, with super-schemes (i.e., NAFTA and the Trilateral Commission) that now threaten its mainstream citizenry and the well-being of this planet in its predatory pursuit of "the profit motive."⁴¹

It is all too evident that American racism is alive and well in U.S. social and political institutions. There are even more insidious signs on the horizon, since Native peoples in North America, among other indigenous peoples world wide, are now being subjected to genetic research. This can be seen as an extension of the eugenics movement in what is being called the "Human Genome Diversity Project (HGDP)," the latest form of racism on the globe. Selected Native groups are being targeted as intact biological, cultural, and landbased entities, and as "threatened

peoples"; this means that such groups are soon-to-be extinct as biological and cultural gene pools. There are scientists that claim they are interested in their preservation, for future study, by soliciting DNA data sampling and collection from human subjects among their membership. At the same time, these same scientists don't seem concerned with the present situation of these groups being threatened by their physical demise as a distinct people and culture.⁴² This kind of research is still predicated on the racist doctrines of scientific racism. It is a science of bigotry and also has unethical aims since one of its major objectives is to patent the data accumulated as genetic resources, and therefore the "intellectual property" of the geneticists. These eugenics "experts" have already experimented with the genetic engineering of plants and even animals,⁴³ which leads one to wonder what they have in store for humans. This is the "virtual reality" context from which genetic research is operating, and at the expense and exploitation of Native peoples as biological and cultural entities. There are concerns among many Native human rights activists, who are referring to the project as the "Vampire Project"⁴⁴ since the best way to take a sample is with the subject's blood.

Indigenous delegations to the United Nations are beginning to suspect a new kind of racism that is continuing the genocide, ethnocide, and ecocide of these populations and their habitats. Some even suspect that the intent is to remove the Native peoples as final barriers to more land seizures for corporate development, which also includes the "intellectual property"

rights that indigenous peoples hold about agrarian and ecological knowledge,⁴⁵ especially since this particular study is being initiated and backed by private transcorporate enterprises, and which is designated as a separate project from the larger "Human Genome Project" that is sampling the human species at large. This trend should also be put into the context that, to date, there is no proof or evidence of a DNA genome to validate a "purity" of race or culture among any group comprising the human species. This therefore makes the spurious assumptions and implications of the HGDP suspicious as to its hidden agenda and overall intent. Hence, genetic racism is manifesting itself today under the guise of medical research to find cures for terminal disease and prolonging human mortality. This is all happening in an era of human overpopulation and "endangered species," but these are also times that predict human cloning and "designer babies" in mankind's search for the perfect human and ultimate immortality. A new eugenics is on the scene, but with more awareness from the past in raising questions as to who will have access to this data and power and why, and for what worthy or wicked purpose will it be eventually and inevitably used.

"Mixed-Blood Identities"

Miscegenation is a necessary topic on any discussion about race, especially since debates are often predicated on this strange eurocentric assumption regarding the "purity" of the races. This did get the attention of the Spanish and Portuguese sovereigns when their own citizens persisted in intermixing with the Native population of the "New World." These liaisons were

often not recognized by the Catholic Church and its Pope as legitimate marriages. Their concern can also be correlated with a pecking order in determining one's occupations, and used as a racist strategy for slave labor. This is documented in historical annals on the Spanish and other European social systems which stratify the hierarchy of racial castes.⁴⁶ According to more modern prevailing attitudes on miscegenation, one who is born of two diverse "races" is of "marginal" status and will therefore develop a "marginal" personality. It is subjectively assumed that this individual will have difficulty in reconciling the two cultures from whence s/he finds themselves and which will therefore contribute to their marginalization and even alienation due to being a product of miscegenation.⁴⁷ Hence, the underlying presumption in this context is that "marginal" people have no ethics or moral conscience since they are not committed devotees, enthusiasts, or patriots of either social systems. This theory is also grounded in the presumed superiority of the national ideology--referred to as the "Protestant Ethic" and Western Christianity in general--among EuroAmerican immigrants to the U.S.

In this racial/racist construction, it is deemed also important to provide a context in how so-called mixed-bloods were perceived in pre-Columbian times. As noted before, there is no evidence that early indigenous peoples to this hemisphere based their membership on any construct of "race" or to the degree that Europeans were preoccupied with it. This obsession was brought by EuroAmericans with Eurocentric ideas that subordinated women

in general as well as the perceived "races" among Homo sapiens as a species. The Native cultures did view diversity in physical characteristics but were more concerned with cultural differences between themselves and others. There was a strong sense of nationhood that can even be described as ethnocentrism among all Native Nations, but this was not predicated on any race criteria. Hence, it wasn't until the pseudo-scientific ideas and concepts of race, among other eurocentric ideas such as sexism, that racially designated categories proliferated among mulattos, quadroons, mestizos, metis, creoles, half-breeds, etc, as hybrid categories. Among Native Americans, intermixing has led to mixed-blood categories, such as the "Red-Black" Indians among Cherokees, Lumbees, and other southeastern tribes, as well as the mestizo (of Spanish and Indian mixings) Indians of the Southwest and Mexico and the metis (of French and Indian mixing) among the northern Nations of the U.S. and Canada. In analyzing "color, race, and caste in the evolution of Red-Black peoples," Jack Forbes quotes early Spanish and Portuguese sources on the origins of such biracial terms as mestizo and mulato. The author's treatise also traces the growth of racism with disdain for "mixed-bloods" from simply describing one's status in occupation and citizenry to derogatory stereotypes.⁴⁸ The Spaniards were notorious for these racial classifications and there are over thirty categories they designated as interracial categories among their populace.⁴⁹ An ecclesiastical policy was even derived from how the Church authorities determined who was biologically an ideal Christian with being of "pure" race among them which they

called *limpiezas de sangre* (meaning "purity of blood").⁵⁰ This xenophobia projected on "mixed-bloods" is also confused with a purity in culture as well as race and that is manifested in nationalist pride and other political ideologies. Such myths have led to and even espouse "ethnic cleansing" in volatile parts of the world today as in the Serbian war raging against the Croatians in eastern Europe.

The Lumbees of North Carolina (noted above) have state recognition but are still in the process of pursuing "federal recognition." For the first time, those tribal leaders among "federally-recognized" groups have been solicited to cast their vote in this process and a majority voted against the Lumbees. There are several theories as to what was behind this, and even talk of ethno-racism among the already recognized groups. And even though it looks like the Lumbees, among the "Red-Black" Indians, might attain a pseudo-tribal status by the federal government, they have been criticized for having too open an enrollment policy in determining their tribal membership. In the Southwest there are several tribal peoples that can rightfully claim a tri-cultural description due to the early missionization of their ancestors by the Spanish Catholics and later the Protestant settlers in those states. Among these Native peoples are the Pimas, Apaches, Yaquis, and Tohono O'odham (formerly Papagos) in Arizona as well as the Pueblo societies of New Mexico and the southern California Mission Band Rancherias. Russell Thornton also wrote on the high degree of intermarriage and miscegenation among American Indians since the European conquest.

He writes that this intermixing actually changed the physical and genetic makeup of Indian populations. He states, "In many if not most instances, mixing with nontribal or non-Indian populations was a result of the depopulation of American Indians, whereby the number of potential mates had been severely restricted (such as epidemics)."⁵¹ He seems to have overlooked the probability, as Forbes considers, that the indigenous peoples in some parts of the Americas had already been intermixing with other "racial" and cultural groups years before the european invaders had reached their shores. This would then account for already perceived physical diversity among Native populations and what some would refer to as racial strains or genetic markers from the high degree of intermixing and exogamy among them, both past and present.

Today, American Indians are still having to deal with the euroamerican treatment of "mixed-bloods" in the historiography, and which has racist consequences to date. Traditionally, an individual could become a member of a tribal society by kinship and intermarriage, or adoption and naturalization, no matter what their "racial" pedigree. Later, euroamericans saw advantages to pitting "confused" half-breeds, regarding to loyalties, against the so-called full-bloods who were resisting the interlopers western expansion into Indian lands. There was even a period when "mixed-blood" leadership was handpicked by "white" Americans in order to thwart the traditional leadership since the thinking was that a "mixed-blood" was more likely than a "full-blood" to cooperate and assimilate to "white" men's ways. Actually, a

solution to the "Indian problem" among liberal educators and policy-makers, calling themselves "Friends of the Indians" (as noted before), encouraged intermarriage between Indians and whites in order to facilitate the assimilation of the latter.⁵² But for the most part, and especially in more contemporary times, "mixed-bloods" find themselves doubly marginalized in any society, due to not being fully accepted in any designated "race" or ethnic group, which is motivated and provoked by racist attitudes against them. As senior Native (Lakota) scholar Vine Deloria Jr. wrote in 1977: "No Indian tribe today can claim a pure blood stock as if this requirement necessarily guaranteed Indianness."⁵³ Deloria has since been working on a book about "Indian Treaty-making" that includes intertribal treaties made between Native Nations prior to those with the U.S. He has noted that some treaties he has run across, between europeans and Indians, had sections (some since removed) specific to the protection of "mixed-blood" members by the Indian leaders.⁵⁴

There have been notable exceptions, however, to this thinking that "mixed-bloods" are easy assimilationists, and based on such racist assumptions that "full-bloods" are less able to be coopted. It can even be argued that what Indians meant by "full-bloods" was very different to how non-Indian were using it since it had more to do with cultural criteria to determine one's tribal membership. Two historical cases, as illustrations, are the famed Quanah Parker, a "half-breed" Comanche, and Captain Jack, a "mixed-blood" leader among the Modocs and Klamaths. Parker's mother was a "white" Protestant who was kidnapped by the

Comanches when she was nine years old. She was later married to a prominent male leader in the tribal nation.⁵⁵

Both respected men used their leadership to resist european encroachment by negotiating for their people with the "whites." In more modern times, there have been notable Native "mixed-bloods" who have made their mark in Indian history. Among the more well-known were Will Rogers (Cherokee), the famed comic and satirist, and D'Arcy McNickle (Salish and Kootenai), a notable historical novelist. Yet, both these individuals were considered to have full membership status among their respective tribal nations. In contrast, today we are witnessing a growing number of Native peoples with "mixed-blood" descent and heritage who are being denied their Indian identity by federal mandate via the BIA.

These divisive matters have now escalated to the point that many among the younger generations are denied federal services because of Federal Indian policy that has closed their tribal rolls as well as terminated whole tribes and even declared some extinct. This can happen to an individual even if he or she does meet blood quantum standards. Therefore, this can be perceived as discrimination against "mixed-bloods." Such issues also need to be put into the context that it has been estimated there is at least 50% intermarriage by both genders; among Native Americans, and with men slightly higher than women, who marry outside of their tribe, either other Indians (in intertribal relations) or "whites."⁵⁶ Therefore, intertribal relations have been in practice even in pre-columbian times since exogamy was encouraged

for both political and biological reasons. In these highly politicized times, political motivations can determine, even among Indians themselves, why a particular group or an individual might not be "recognized" by the tribe and/or "certified" by the federal government.⁵⁷ Such decisions can be made for political expediency at the expense of a tribe's or pueblo's cultural integrity, based on kinship traditions such as matrilineality (as in the legal case, noted above, Martinez v. Santa Clara Pueblo, 1978). Those of "mixed-blood identities" among Native Americans are hit even harder with this since they do not fit into the rigid racial/racist categories in census-taking. This problematic situation is encouraging a growing trend among "mixed-blood" groups who are challenging this imposed race categories.⁵⁸

As a juxtaposition to U.S. Indian policy is Canadian government policy that recognizes its primarily landless meti populations and organizations as having certain aboriginal rights (a "meti" is designated a "mixed-blood" of both Indian and French or "white" lineage). Meti, however, is considered a separate category that distinguishes them from Reserve Indians as landbased groups in Canada. In the province of Quebec they are referred to as French meti since they speak a French patois and are Catholics. This is in contrast to the U.S. that lumps these "mixed-blood" groups with other "ethnic/minorities." However, these same meti groups, especially the women, criticize the federal government for being at a disadvantage when compared to landbased Reserve Indians.⁵⁹

What also needs to be challenged in this arena is that the hybridization that exists among most of us is not negative or denigrating, but rather as an attribute we can take pride in as non-racist and universal in our affinity with biological and cultural diversity. The reality is, however, that a distinct "race" a "pure" race of people cannot be proven scientifically or otherwise. Therefore, the majority if not all of humanity at this time are probably of "mixed-blood" descent as well as heritage due to the human inclination and capacity for intermixing and intermarriage.

Indigenous to the Americas

These intense years have brought American Indians through the twentieth century, where there is a mood of a backward slide in "Identity politics" fermenting in the U.S. Even while the Clinton Administration proclaims a new day for Indians, new stratagems are at play for dispossessing Indians further, and with "colonial identities" that are symptomatic of race and genetics that is correlated with nationalist issues and affairs. We are now being told to give up the last vestiges of our "Indianess" and to compete like everyone else for what we have never fully had, our liberation from the European invasion. It is a fact of Indian life that the U.S. government still controls our homelands through a rat maze of federal and state bureaucracy, making us the most regulated and controlled population. We live in what has been called a "settler state" that has imposed colonization on its traditional indigenous peoples.⁶⁰ Such oppressive conditions of this colonization have

created federal dependency that is spawned from a racist paternalism as well as divisiveness over "Indian Identity." This, in turn, has led to Native peoples being subjected to removal and relocation that threatened our cultural and political domains. These destructive situational socio-politics have come about because traditional Native peoples and their approach to life have stood in the way of pro-development in mining and other "profit-motive" ventures, which have proven to be hazardous to the inhabitants health as well as the ecology of their natural environment.⁶¹ There is also need for an international perspective on our situational affairs, as well as local, regional, and national agendas in order to connect the historical legacy with the present blight so that a more promising future for our younger generations can be created.

With this historical legacy and the current state of affairs throughout Native America, it appears that in order for the Indian to survive in this country we must first ultimately perish, as is the lot of all mythological creatures. Yet, we can challenge this negation of us as relics of the past, rather than the universal people we are meant to be. In order to accomplish this we must resist the forces of our homogenization that is actually about patriotic cohesion for American nationalism. We need a call for our decolonization, and in alliance with other disenfranchised and dispossessed peoples in ever growing numbers everywhere. And we need to never lose sight of who we are in the circle we call humanity. This has nothing to do with race and racism but is instead rooted historically in our cultural

identity with the land and the environment.⁶² We also need to restore a strong sense of who we are as Native individuals and cultural groups in our own right, with Native women and their organizations in the vanguard of this liberation force. This is all the more urgent since the situation today is that there is a growing number of urban-based "ethnic" Indians, estimated at 60% to 70% and rising; and with most Native American populations found in the western states; the metropol of Los Angeles still holds the largest Native population, at about 100,000, with Chicago next in line. This is in contrast to the estimated 40% to 30% and dropping tribal-based Indians on the reservations, and with the largest landbased groups found in the Southwest; that is, with the exception of the Oklahoma Cherokees, who have recently surpassed the Navajos (the former are at about 270,000 to the Navajos' at 200,000) with the largest non-landbased tribal membership.⁶³ The Southwest, and especially the state of Arizona, are being watched in terms of the negotiations going on in gambling cases, water rights and grazing reform that is correlated with economic and environmental concerns between the tribes and state authorities with federal entities which will determine policy and legal precedents to impact the rest of the Nation. These are also evident times when a neo-conservative "federally-recognized" tribal leadership in alliance with Washington D.C. cultural brokers are advocating the adoption of more restrictive determinations of who can be designated a tribally-recognized member among Native Americans. There is a very vocal and growing Native voice that still challenges how the

federal government first determined the rigid and inhumane categories that denigrates "mixed-blood" heritage and which some tribal councils are now adopting. This seems the case in more modern times, even though such undesignated groups were traditionally considered as members of the nations in pre-columbian times. There is also the question as to how some tribal leaders determine who gets on their tribal rolls and who gets taken off, which has at times appeared to be more influenced by tribal partisan politics (as noted before) rather than the protection of membership rights. This is creating a problematic situation in Indian/tribal identity politics and which is becoming the concern of human rights activists as well as those who perceive a conflict in regards to democratic ideals and rights. Tribal leaders are now being pressured to include "civil rights codes" in their tribe's constitutions which prohibits decisions regarding tribal membership that discriminates against another based on race, creed, and/or national origin as articulated in the U.S. Constitution and its "Bill of Rights."⁶⁴ It is my assessment that gender should also be included due to noted court cases of tribal council chauvinism which denies Native women and their offspring of tribal status from predominantly male-dominated tribal councils. This is a result of U.S. colonization, and particularly due to Indian Reorganization of tribal governance in 1934. Such colonizing consequences, therefore, need to be put into the pre-columbian historical context that most Native Nations were matrilineal societies until the coming of euroamerican patriarchy.

Haunani Kay Trask, a Native Hawaiian woman in her peoples' sovereignty movement, made this insightful assessment on the subject: "When you divide a people by race, you divide the people, themselves, from each other."⁶⁵ It is in this way they we give up our ontology of being that is the ethos of our very existence, as Indigenous to the Americas. Granted that there are legal and entitlement considerations that have come down to a recent "federal deficit" issue due to economic crisis in U.S. society. This has been escalated by federal prioritizing that wants to get out of its obligations to Indian tribes, and have them compete with corporate entities in the business world. Tribes and intertribal Indian organizations, until only recently, were advocating more open policies to tribal enrollment and BIA certification. It is recognized that there is some abuse in this process, but on both sides of the equation. But this is more likely a regional problem due to administrative mismanagement and even bureaucratic corruption. It is not necessarily to the extent presumed in generic legislation, as "blanket policies" imposed by the federal government and congressional laws. Such post-war McCarthyite tactics violate the basic human laws of Native individuals and groups that still traditionally trace their "Indian identity" through kinship and genealogy and are in stark contrast to any nationalist ideology primarily based on racial constructs and racist formulations. As Vine Deloria Jr., Lakota scholar, once stated it: "We should just drop the definitions, and concentrate on the development of programs for Indians wherever they are instead of keeping the myth alive that

we follow very proper rules in determining who is eligible for federal service."⁶⁶ In this context, there is a need for resolutions regarding the ideological issues raised in terms of legal constructions of who is an "American Indian" and how that correlates with federal and state entitlement.

Consequently, there is a need to challenge the ahistoricalism that exists in U.S. society in order to acknowledge and comprehend the historiography of U.S. colonization put upon Tribal/Native groups of this continent. This understanding also involves how that is in the U.S.--Indian construction is manifested in Federal Indian policy in contrast to international human rights for indigenous peoples to the Americas. This is part of the decolonization process that is presently in motion and that can be perceived as an Indigenous liberation movement. Intertribal and regional organizations, such as the besieged Confederated Chapters of the American Indian Movement, are in the vanguard of this more global movement.⁶⁷ Such agendas are focused on the decentralization of leadership within their own ranks as well as grassroots Native environmentalism, most notably the Indigenous Women's Network (IWN) that is inter-American and international in scope, as well as Women of All Red Nations (WARN) in Chicago, to resist genocide, ethnocide, and ecocide. Both Native women organizations are focused on linkages with health, economics, and environmental problems in the Indian world and seek alternative resolutions from their pre-columbian indigenous knowledge in sustainable lifeways predicated on kinship traditions to restore ecological

balance to their habitats and the planet--as "Mother Earth." These liberation struggles also include the Native peoples in third world countries in Latin America as well as the U.S. and Canada. Therefore, the assessment of this research makes the following recommendations: 1) include community recognition, off as well as on reservation-based areas; 2) determine the definitions of a Tribal/Native community predicated on cultural traditions and indigenous rights that is predicated on cultural integrity; 3) reject BIA Blood Quantum altogether and replace it with a broader scope of kinship traditions that includes exogamy, naturalization, and adoption of others, as well as matrilineal or patrilineal ancestral lineage; and, 4) traditional Native peoples should determine tribal membership which would acknowledge their landless and non-federally-recognized relations including a population among those who are referred to as "mixed-blood identities." These recommendations need an international scope of the situation which would address the following: the U.S. federal and state system would assist in the maintenance of traditional Native communities as cultural enclaves with indigenous rights; they would also assist in the restoration of groups who can claim grievances of acts of genocide and ethnocide on native populations, involving eugenics coding imposed upon them. This last recommendation also recognizes the impact of ecocide that has been wrought on Native lands, as bioregional spheres in the natural environment, due to government and corporate intervention and exploitation of their homelands.⁶⁸

Indigenous groups should also be able to continue to solicit redress in international arenas, as human rights forums, in order to hold the U.S. authorities accountable for past wrongdoing while it makes amends by restitution and reparation to its colonized populations. Only then will euroamerican imperialism and hegemony be confronted so the people, both Native and non-Native among us, will be able to heal the wounds of our past and present, and for the sake of our future generations.

Endnotes

1. Refer to the following works on Tecumseh and a "Pan-Indian Federation": Cooke, D.C., Tecumseh, Destiny's Warrior, Messner, Inc., 1959; Tucker, Glenn, Tecumseh: Vision of Glory, Russell and Russell, 1956; Van Hoose, William, Tecumseh, An Indian Moses, Daring Books, 1984. There is also a soon-to-be published paper by Rachel Buff, "Tecumseh, Tenskwatawa, and the National Popular Myth: Historiography and Popular Memory," Historical Reflections, Cross-Cultural Contact, special issue, Alfred, N.Y., late Spring of 1994.
2. Harmon, Alexandra, "When An Indian is Not an Indian?, Friends of the Indian and the Problem of Indian Identity," Journal of Ethnic Studies, Seattle, WA, vol. 18, #2, 1991: 95-123; the author bases her primary research on the Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference of Friends of the Indian (1886, 1889), in Mohonk, N.Y.
3. Gould, Stephen Jay, The Mismeasure of Man, Norton Co., N.Y., 1981: 50-60; on "Morton's Skulls," as a case of pseudoscientific racism that was later debunked for skewed research in the study of "craniometric."
4. Ibid: 98-103; the 1900s was the height of "scientific racism," and predicated on American eugenists as well as the racial/racist doctrines of German social scientists of the period (Huske, 1854; Broca, 1862; Voget, 1864).
5. Callicott, Baird J., In Defense of the Land Ethic. State University of New York Press, N.Y., 1989: 177-219; on "American Indian Environmental Ethics" and the Ojibways as illustration of "Attitudes Towards Nature" and an "American Indian Land Wisdom."
6. Gunn Allen, Paula. The Sacred Hoop: Recovering the Feminine in American Indian Traditions, Beacon Press, Boston, MA, 1986; the author refers to Native cultures as "matriarchies" and characterized as "gynocentric" in her pandering generalizations to Feminism.
7. Jaimes, M. A., American Indian Identification/Eligibility policy in Federal Indian Service Programs, chapter 3 on "BIA Origins," Dissertation from Arizona State University, August, 1990: 40-50.
8. Jaimes, M. A. with Halsey, Theresa, chapter XI, "American Indian Women: At the Center of Indigenous Resistance in North America," in The State of Native America, Jaimes, ed., South End Press, Boston, MA, 1992: 311-44.

9. Jaimes, M. A. chapter IV, "Federal Indian Identification Policy: A Usurpation of Indigenous Sovereignty in North America," in State, op. cit., p. 123-138; in addition, The General Allotment Act of 1887, also known as the Dawes Act, is described by W. Churchill and G. Morris, under "Table: Indian Laws and Cases," in State, p. 14.
10. Ibid; quote on p. 136.
11. Weatherford, Jack, chapter 3, "Women (and a Few Good Men) Who Led the Way," Native Roots, Crown Pubs., N. Y., 1991: 19-36; for a fictionalized historical account, see Linda Hogan's excellent novel Mean Spirit (Antheneum, N. Y., 1990), a story of a "white" man who married an Indian women for her allotment and that led to her murder.
12. Churchill, Ward, Struggle for the Land, Common Courage Press, Monroe, ME, 1992/93; the theft of Indian lands is a main premise of this book. Also on the "seizure of natural resources," see Jaimes' and Guerrero's respective works in State, op. cit, and Gedicks, Resource Wars, op cit.
13. Cherokee Nation Application Form Letter (p. 1; not dated), signed by R. Lee Fleming, Tribal Registrar, which states: "This letter is in reference to your inquiry concerning Cherokee Registration. To be eligible for Tribal membership with the Cherokee Nation, you must apply and be able to present necessary evidence. This evidence is a Certificate of Degree of Indian Blood (CBIB), issued by the Bureau of Indian Affairs."
14. "Cherokees Experience Population Boom, news article from Tulsa, OK. The Circle, February, 1994: 16.
15. Shaver, Lynda Dixon, "Oklahoma Indians and the Cultural Deprivation of an Oklahoma Cherokee Family," unpublished paper presented at the Speech and Communication Association in Miami, November of 1993. Also refer to W. David Baird's work "Are the Five Tribes of Oklahoma 'Real' Indians?" (The Western Historical Quarterly, 21), which addressed same issues on Oklahoma Cherokee.
16. Davis, Shelly, "Osage adopt constituiion: U. S. Declared Original Constitution Obsolete in 1881," from Pawhuska, OK, in News from Indian Country, late February, 1994: 15.
17. Edward Valandra, graduate student, working on his master thesis at the University of Colorado at Boulder, Political Science Department, and former tribal councilman for the Rosebud Oglala Tribal Nation, has provided keen insights into the continuing practices of traditional kinship among his own peoples in S. Dakota. Also refer to Jaimes Dissertation, op. cit., chapter 5, "An American Indian International Perspective," p. 159-69.

18. Nabokov, Peter, ed., Native American Testimony: A Chronicle of Indian-White Relations from Prophecy to the Present, Penguin Books, N.Y., 1991: 411-12; taken from 1969 congressional hearings in Indian Education.
19. Thornton, Russell, American Indian Holocaust Survival: A Population History Since 1492, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1987: 224; quote is summary by James L. Simmons, 1977.
20. Jaimes in State, op. cit., on "Federal Indian Identification Policy," p. 127-29.
21. Quote from Rayna Green on "ethnic cleansing" in news article, "Indian Writers-Pt. II: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly," Indian Country Today, by Jerry Reynolds, Rapid City, S. D., 9/15/93; this is in response to her being targeted as an "unenrolled Cherokee" by pseudo-Indian "Identity" baiter, Susan Shown (Harjo), who advocates generic Indian regulation from her pulpit in Washington D.C. The latter "Indian Identity" cultural broker, by all appearances, seems to be primarily motivated due to coveting Green's Smithsonian position in the nations' capitol.
22. Wicazo Sa Review, "Meeting of Indian Professors Takes Up Issues of 'Ethnic Fraud,' Sovereignty and Research Needs." vol. 1 xi, #1, Spring , 1993: 57-9; assessment by Elizabeth Cook-Lynn, ed., on "ethnic fraud" position taken by the American Indian Professoriate organization, 1993 meeting at Arizona State University (Tempe, AZ), and spearheaded by Lakota ethnocentric, Bea Medicine. The problem is that such inclusive claims to "documented abuse" that this organization predicates it's exclusionary position on can be contradicted with what are violations that target those who have legitimate claims to being American Indian. It is, therefore, this researcher's assessment that the latter as exclusive abuse is more so, which leads one to conclude that the inconsistency of this policy is more about "Indian Identity" baiting motivated by professional self-interest in federal economic "deficit" times than not.
23. "The One-Drop Rule Defined" statement which quotes Trillin, 1986: 76-8;, regarding the "Phipps case." Jane Doe v. State of Louisiana, 1983; reference incomplete.
24. Akwasasne Notes, "BIA, I'm Not Your Indian Anymore," Mohawk Nation, Roosevelt, N. Y., on the "Twenty Points" 1973 statement in "On the Trail of Broken Treaties." In addition, see R. Burnett and J. Kostner, The Road to Wounded Knee, Bantam Books, N. Y., 1974, as well as TREATY: The Campaign of Russell Means for the Presidency of the Oglala Sioux Tribe, Porcupine, S.D., 1982.

25. Szathmary, Emoke, research on "genetic markers" in his "Genetics of Aboriginal North Americans," in *Evolutionary Anthropology*, vol. 1, issue 6, 1993: 202-20.
26. Native Hawaiian Peoples' International Tribunal, Kanaka, Maoli Nation, Plaintiff, v. United States of America, Defendant, held on the Hawaiian Islands, August 12 to 21, 1993; Interim Report on "Summary of Recognitions, of Findings and Recommendations" is out, to be followed by a complete final text from tribunal judges and rapporteur.
27. Trask, Haunani Kay presentation on "Native Hawaiian Sovereignty Rights and Indigenous Structures," on 2/22/94 at the University of Colorado at Boulder; on tape. Also see Trask's book, From A Native Daughter, Common Courage Press, Monroe, ME, 1993; this indigenous manifesto for Native Hawaiian liberation was presented as a documented testimony to the Native Hawaiian International Peoples' Tribunal, cited above (fn26).
28. Kuhl, Stefan, The Nazi Connection: Eugenics, American Racism, and German National Socialism, Oxford University Press, N. Y., 1994.
29. Raushning, Hermann, The Voice of Destruction, chapter XVI, "Magic, Black and White," Putnams & Sons, N. Y., 1940: 230-42; on author's conversations with Adolf Hitler while he reigned as the Germany Nazi Führer during WWII.
30. Churchill, Ward, "Genocide: Towards a Functional Definition," in Alternative Press, v N.Y., vol.II, #3, July, 1986: 403-30. Also see Churchill's "In the Matter of Julius Streicher," on "Applying Nuremberg Precedents in the U.S.," in his Indian Are Us? (Common Courage Press, 1994; 73-87), and Jaimes citation of his work in Introduction to State, op. cit., "Sand Creek: The Morning After." p. 1-12.
31. Omi, M. and Winant, H., Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1980s. Routledge and Kegan Paul, N. Y., 1986: 105-43.
32. There is evidence that these racist practices are still in evidence, albeit in more covert manifestation as "institutional racism," which is still rooted in the Southern states, with some such laws still on the books, but is not exclusive to this region. There is even more overt racism evident in parts of the Northwestern states of Washington and Oregon as well as along the midwestern economically eroded "Farmer's Belt," with particular emphasis on Idaho, which are becoming paramilitary strongholds among "white supremacy" racist groups.
33. Holm, Tom, Chapter XII, "Patriots and Pawns: State Use of American Indians in the Military and the Process of Nativization in the (U.S.)," in State, op. cit., 345-70.

34. King James Version in the New Testament of (Christian) Bible; citing Verse 28 in Genesis I. This biblical scripture is linked with the Spanish Sovereign Crown's "Doctrine of Discovery" that rationalized Spanish imperialism, later to be used as an international code by other imperialist seapowers begun in the 15th century to the "New World;" refer to Elliot, J. H., Imperial Spain, 1469-1716. Penguin Books, 1990: 107, and S. T. Newcomb's legal treatise, "The Evidence of Christian Nationalism in Federal Indian Law: The Doctrine of Discovery, Johnson v. McIntosh, and Plenary Power." vol 20, #2, 1993, in New York University Review of Law and Social Change. N.Y.
35. Acuna, Rudolf, Occupied America. 3rd ed., Harper Collins, N.Y., 1988; on the "Protestant Crusade," p. 21, and on "Mexican American" deportations, p. 202-76. In addition, there are the respective seminal texts, Race and Manifest Destiny, on "U. S. racial nationalism" by Reginald Horsman (Harvard University Press, 1981) and Facing West on "the metaphysics of Indian-Hating and Empire-Building," by Richard Drinnon (Schocken Books, 1980/90); as well as Newcomb's Indian law treatise on "christian nationalism," op. cit., cited above (fn34).
36. The President of the U. S., Richard M. Nixon, under the auspices of his Administration in the mid-1970s and pre-Watergate scandal, is known for asserting to his cabinet that certain parts of the U. S. (at the time sitting on Indian reservation lands in the Southwestern states of AZ and N. M.), were to be unofficially declared "national sacrifice areas (NSA)." These targets included expendable Native peoples and their cultural communities on those lands, for the sake of pro-development interests around uranium and other mining operational enterprises (i.e., Peabody Coal Co.). For reference, see Churchill, Ward and LaDuke, Winona, chapter VIII, "Native North America: The Political Economy of Radioactive Colonialism," in State, op. cit., p. 241-66. In addition, an updated version of this "NSA" treatise is by Churchill in his Struggle, op. cit.
37. Guerrero Marianna, chapter VI, "American Indian Water Rights: The Blood of Life in Native North America," in State, op. cit., p. 189-216; this "water theft" premise is a main thesis of her essay.
38. Linden, Eugene, cover story in Times, (9/23/91), "Lost Tribes, Lost Knowledge," p. 46-56, is about the "nomadic" Penans, Sarawak, and Malaysians in Borneo, the Papua in New Guinea, the Aleuts, Unalaska, Alaska in Aleutian Islands, Bayanga in Central Africa, and Lacandan in Chiapas Mexico, indigenous peoples worldwide among Pygmies
39. Redford, K. H., editorializing in his "The ecological Nobel Savage" on the "Tasaday Hoax" is cited Cultural Survival Quarterly, vol. 15, #1, 1991: 46-48.

40. Indian Country Today, "Mescalero Apache Sign agreement to establish facility for nuclear waste," by Bunty Anquoe, Rapid City, S. D., 2/10/94, vol. 13, #33, p. A1-A2. This case is really all about money and what is being called "economic bribery. Therefore, Valerie Taliman's coverage in The Circle (February, 1994, p. 7), "Nuclear Guinea Pigs," is more appropriate to assessing these kinds of economic enterprises that are hazardous to one's health and the natural environment when residing in close proximity to a "hosted" toxic dump site.
41. Mander, Jerry, In the Absence of the Sacred in "the Failure of Technology and the Survival of the Indian Nations," Sierra Club Books, San Francisco, CA, 1991; as a main thesis of his text. Also refer to Ward Churchill's "Since Predator Came: A Survey of Native North America Since 1492," in The Current Wisdom, vol. 1, #1, 1992: 24-8.
42. On the "Human Genome Diversity Project," see "Summary of Planning Workshop 3(B)" on "Ethical and Human Rights Implications," regarding the methods for research sampling, Stanford University (Stanford, CA); cover letter dated 5/17/94, and signed by Jean Doble, Assistant Director, Morrison Institute for Populations and Resources Studies, involved in "selected" dissemination of report. This summation is made up of a total of 30+ pgs. with an unattached tentative list of over 600 indigenous groups targeted for DNA sampling worldwide (with about 65 located in North America, the U. S. and Canada), and with the data bank reputed to be Los Alamos, N. M. It also lists thirteen participants of this session, who are among the leading "genetic experts," and with several affiliated, ironically, with the National Institutes of Health. The project is also indicated to be sponsored by private corporations, which is different from the government-sponsored Human Genome Project that is collecting DNA sample for a larger data band from the human population at large.
43. Shiva, Vandana, The Violence of the Green Movement: Third World Agriculture, Ecology and Politics, Zed Books Ltd. and Third World Network, 1991; this "genetic engineering" in the plant world is a main premise of her overall work that emphasizes the case of India. But of particular note on the subject is her chapter 2, on "'Miracle Seeds' and the destruction of Genetic Diversity," p. 61-102. There is also a pretty lame article, in comparison to Shiva's work, on the issue of indigenous agrarian knowledge, "Hard Choices: Indigenous Economic Development and Intellectual Property Rights," by S. H. Davis, Akwe:kon ("All of Us"), vol x, #4, Winter, 1993: 19-25, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.
44. International Human Rights Activist for Indigenous Peoples and a Cree Delegate before the United Nations since 1981, Sharon Venne, has shared this assessment with the author. She was referring to the Human Rights proceedings at the

"Working Group for Indigenous Populations (Peoples)," of which was a participant, held in Geneva, Switzerland, at the U.N., this past 1993 summer. She credits another delegate with the term "the Vampire Project" in referring to the "Human Genome Diversity Project," since it prefers blood samples to hair follicles and cheek scrapings for DNA genetic data.

45. Ibid; some of the questions posed by Venne and others in the international human rights arena for indigenous peoples is why (what is the criteria ?) are the Native people and their respective cultures targeted on this list as "threatened" peoples in the first place? Also, if this is in fact the case, what is being humanely done to assist them in this genocide, ethnocide, and ecocide? Such queries have prompted the indigenous NGOs (non-governmental organizations in U.N.-speak) to the United Nations to submit a declaration to cease and desist in the genetic research that is already underway. As Venne points out, the problem with this is while the U.N in one area (in this case the human rights of indigenous peoples) puts forth this declaration in protest, in another area of its monolithic and duplicitous bureaucracy (as elsewhere) other agencies are funding the global project.
46. Stanton, William, The Leopard Spots: Scientific Attitudes Toward Race in America, 1819-59, University of Chicago Press, 1960; of particular note is his "The Problem of the Free Hybrid" on subject of "miscegenation," p. 189-91. Also refer to R. E. Bider's "Scientific Attitudes Toward Indian Mixed-Bloods in Early (19th) Century America," in The Journal of Ethnic Studies, University of WA, vol. 8, #2, Seattle, WA.
47. Ibid.
48. Forbes, Jack D., Black Africans and Native Americans: Color, Race, and Caste in the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples, Basil Blackwell, N.Y., 1988. Also see bell hooks' Black Looks: Race and Representation (South End Press, 1992; especially noted is her chapter 12 on "Revolutionary Renegades" on 'Red-Black Indian'" p. 179-94.
49. Thornton on Spanish obsession with interracial categories (Morner, 1967; Wagley, 1971; Sanchez-Albornoz, 1974) among mestizo offsprings of (Spanish and Indian) intermarriage and intermixing, op. cit., p. 186-9. In addition, there is E.B. Reuter's dated but informative Race Mixture: Studies in Intermarriage and Miscegenation, among "interracial" population groups, McGraw-Hill Pubs., N.Y., 1931.
50. Elliot on the Spanish notions of "christian purity and race," and which led to the ecclesiastical policy known as "limpiezas de sangre," op. cit., p. 107.

51. Thorton quote, op. cit., p. 55.
52. Harmon, op. cit., p. 108-11.
53. Deloria, Vine, jr., "A Better Day for Indians," Field Foundation, N.Y., 1977: 20.
54. As a professor at the University of Colorado at Boulder, Vine Deloria, Jr., has shared his research on Treaty-making with his colleagues on campus. He has commented on this phenomena he has run across in his examination of the older version of some Treaties between nations, which included sections regarding the rights of "mixed-bloods" among the tribal membership. This also seems to imply that the tribal leaders, as treaty delegates and negotiators, were utilizing the language of the europeans and American colonizers who were much more preoccupied with such distinctions between "full-bloods" and "half-breeds" among Native groups. Deloria is currently working (Spring of 1994) on an historical book about "Treaty-making" between nations, and that includes intertribal treaties as well.
55. Hacker, Margaret, Cynthia Ann Parker, The Life and Legend, Texas Western Press, 1990.
56. Gonzales, Sandy, "Intermarriage and Assimilation: The Beginning or the End?", in Wicazo Sa Review, Davis, CA, vol. 8, #2, Fall of 1992: 48-52; her research includes a table that provides more specific differences in intermarriage and exogamy between the Indian population genders. This researcher provides good data, but even so the author finds her work too narrow in scope, and particularly regarding the implications of a rather pessimistic outlook. Thorton, op. cit., p. 236, is also quoted (and is also a better reference) that : "In 1980 over 50(%) of all American Indians--were married to non-Indians, while only about one (%) of whites and two (%) blacks were married to someone of another race (citing Sandefur and McKinnell, 1985; U. S. Congress, 1986: 74)."
57. Forbes, Jack D., "Undercounting Native Americans: The 1980 Census and the manipulation of Racial Identity in the (U.S.)," in Wicazo Sa Review, Cheney WA, vol. 6, #1, Spring of 1990: 2-26; in his treatise, he also refers to how President Richard Nixon, in the mid-1970s and pre-Watergate, designated the use of the term "Hispanic" in order to diffuse and deter the socio-political issues of Spanish-speaking populations in the U. S. who opted to identify in census-taking with their Native roots among indigenous peoples.
58. A reform movement is challenging the race "classifiers" in the U. S., and among them is Mestizaje represented by Chicano and Native activists in the western states who that is redefining cultural identity for themselves. There are also other "interracial groups," among Blacks, Indians, and

Asians, who are countering with grievances of "ethnic sorting;" as in the case of "affirmative action" profiling. For example, American Indians are usually classified by a race coding and "federally-recognized" tribal affiliation, in contrast to "Hispanics" among all Spanish-speaking groups, with the eurocentric label imposed upon them. The term "Hispanic" is supposed to be linked to Spanish culture, and which denies many in this category their Native heritage to the Americas. On the other hand, both Blacks and Asians are designated based more on distinct physical characteristics. These classification categories, however, are inconsistent at best and do not recognize the biological and cultural diversity among many, if not most, that are of "mixed-blood identities," both by way of biological descent and cultural heritage. Note that there are more and more articles and research that attests to this trend which counters U.S. census-taking.

59. Native Women Journal, "Action Speaks Louder Than Words: Native Council of Canada Record on Native Women's Rights," and "Address to the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples," Alberta Canada, Aug/Sept, 1992: 6-7; includes statements on "gender" inequality in tribal governance and national recognition, among Metis Women's organizations headquartered in the province of Alberta.
60. Stock, Robert, on "The Settler State and the American Left," New Studies on the Left, vol. xiv, #3, Winter, 1990-91, p. 72-8. Also refer to Churchill's "Perversions of Justice," in Struggle, op. cit.
61. Churchill and LaDuke on "radioactive colonization," in State, op. cit., p. 241-66; also Churchill on "national sacrifice areas," in Struggle, op. cit.
62. Jaimes, M. A, "Native American Identity and Survival: Indigenism and Environmental Ethics;" a forthcoming publication, Michael Green, ed., late Spring of 1994.
63. Thornton, Russell, op. cit., on "Indian populations and demographics," University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, OK, 1987. In addition, refer to 1980 Census data and reports, from the Office of the U. S. Census, Washington D. C.
64. Wunder, John R., "Retained by the Peoples: A History of American Indians and the Bill of Rights, Oxford University Press, N.Y., 1994
65. Trask's presentation, op. cit. on "Native Hawaiian Sovereignty Rights."
66. Deloria, Vine, Jr., quote, "The Next Three Years: A Time for Change," The Indian Historian, vol. 7, #2, American Indian Historical Society, San Francisco, Spring, 1974, p. 26.

67. Note on press release (3/28/94) from the International Confederation of Autonomous Chapters of the American Indian Movement, regarding summation of A.I.M. Tribunal held in San Francisco, CA, March 26-27, 1994.
68. Al Gedicks, The New Resource Wars: Native and Environmental Struggles Against Multinational Corporations, South End Press, Boston, MA, 1993; Forward, "A Society Based On Conquest Cannot Be Sustained," by Winona LaDuke, Native woman activist and writer.

Leadership as Taught in Tribal Colleges

by
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Webster's Dictionary defines leadership as "the office or position of a leader who has the capacity to lead; the personality which causes people to follow; to mold individuals into a team." In Indian country one must add the definition: The right to lead. Indian law is very strict and, of course, unwritten so it is fluid and bending with each situation. In some cases the leader is "above the law." Nothing they do is perceived prosecutable. This is tolerated because the leader is bigger and meaner than their followers or they control the flow of goods or services.

In Indian country, any accident and sometimes acts of violence committed under the influence of alcohol, is forgiven by the people because the alcohol took away the perpetrators mind. Because of these strict traditional laws any transgression made at anytime during one's life will prevent a person from stepping into the "lime-light." The potential leader knows they will be the laughing stock of the people if they even think out loud of throwing their "hat-into-the-ring."

Another aspect which affects leadership in Indian country is jealousy. Sitting Bull's honor song reflects this concepts:

*TATANKA IYOYAKE LAKOTA MAYASINA.
Sitting Bull asked me to be an Indian.*

*AIYAPI WAUN WELO.
They are gossiping about me.*

IYOTIYEWAKIYELO.
I am having a difficult time.

This man was a great man yet they are gossiping--why? They are jealous because it is him not them who has gained the respect of the people. The jealousy trait has brought down many potential leaders. They give up because the aggravation over the jealousy is not worth the time and effort for them to help their people.

When looking through the catalog of the Fort Berthold Community College, located at New Town, North Dakota, one's eyes are immediately drawn to a Farm and Ranch class entitled Agricultural Leadership Development. The course description tells us the class content includes: 1) How to be better informed and active members of their respective communities; 2) How local and state services are funded and managed; and 3) How to conduct meetings. We can thumb through the pages and pick up leadership ideas from many of the business classes offered. For example, Salesmanship (principles and fundamentals of selling which includes customer needs, handling objection, closing the sale, self image, and confidence in selling) and Principal of Management (concepts and techniques basic to the manager including planning, organizing, staffing, leading and controlling). In the Political Sciences, we see classes such as Public Administration, Tribal Government, Basic Indian Law, and Civil Law and Procedure. Even the carpentry classes I teach have elements of leadership in them to promote in the world of construction. One can go on and on through the catalog and see leadership threaded through Tribal Studies, Native American Health Perspective, Cultural Anthropology, never mind the standard English, Math, and Science classes.

Hopefully, by taking these or similar classes, students will gain intellect into the science of being a leader. In most cases

the leader emerges somehow--as the saying goes "leaders are born, not made." The leader uses common sense or "horse sense" as we say in Indian Country. The leader should never say, "I did this or that." Self-glorification is a no-no.

As you can see, leadership takes many forms and is under constraint by so many unwritten rules. The leader must be able to "bite-the-knife" meaning they have never done anything bad in their life time. Any transgression makes them unsuitable to hold office either in the ceremonial or the political arena. Those leaders who are above the law usually will slip back into former transgressions and hurt their people, instead of helping them.

The Limits and Loyalties of Teaching About Indians

by
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For a week, participants in the Newberry seminar on "Indian Leadership and Indian Identity" shared stories, knowledge, insights, opinions, meals, walks in the bitter cold of a Chicago winter, laughter and, occasionally, tears. Yet for all we shared, we never did come to a consensus on the issue of Indian identity. Who is legitimately, authentically Indian? Should definitions be based on genetic heritage? On cultural upbringing? On commitment to a particular community or a way of life? Should Indian people encourage inclusive definitions which might provide greater political clout to a people in the minority of American society? Or should more exclusive definitions prevail, so as to weed out those interested only for short-term goals or individual gain? Who, after all, should have the right to define Indian identity, or even to participate in the debate? It is to this latter question, as it is faced by scholar-teachers, that I will turn in this paper.

For far too long non-Native scholars (and government bureaucrats) have assumed the role of defining Indian identity and culture. Though still prevalent, the situation has been seriously contested. Perhaps the first challenge in print to the non-native expert in my own anthropological discipline came in 1969 with Vine Deloria Jr.'s scathing and humorous critique.

Into each life, it is said, some rain must fall. Some people have had horoscopes, others take tips on the stock market. McNamara created the TFX and the Edsel. Churches possess the

real world. But Indians have been cursed above all other people in history. Indians have anthropologists (1988: 78).

As portrayed by Deloria over twenty years ago, anthropologists flock to Indian reservations each summer to make observations which are turned into books in the winter; these books are then condensed into articles which profess to "tell it like it is" and which present an image of the "real" Indian to which even Indians cannot relate themselves (Deloria 1988 :78-82). Renee Taylor, a lawyer and member of the Nimpkish Band, Alert Bay, British Columbia, makes similar comments regarding the misplaced aura of authority of the anthropologist today:

Anthropologists have an authority that comes from a place within the establishment, the state, and the polity of Canada as a whole. Yet, there's consistently, on the part of anthropologists that I've had a relationship with, a denial of that place, so that what twenty Indians would say gains credence when one anthropologist acknowledges that to be a truism. If one anthropologist says, "No, these people are mistaken," that has more credibility than 100 Indians saying otherwise (Ignace, Speck and Taylor 1993: 176).

In a forum on contested pasts and the practice of anthropology, Randall Maguire (1992: 817) ponders why it is that archaeologists, historians and anthropologists, have been "the stewards of Indian pasts." He finds the answer in the relationship of archaeology to the larger history of Indian-white relations in the United States. Citing works by Berkhofer (1978) and Trigger (1980), Maguire argues that most white Americans have lumped all Indians together, defining them as an alien, singular other and thereby denying Indians any identity except in relation to whites. But also of prime importance for scholars usurping the task of defining Indian identity has been the notion that Indian cultures are in the process of disintegration, or have

already vanished. "The concept of the vanishing American disarticulated Native Americans from their past, providing a vehicle by which whites took over Native American heritages for nationalistic and scientific purposes" (Maguire 1992: 818). Making a point similar to Deloria's years before, Maguire claims that the concept of the vanishing Indian allowed archaeologists to glorify the Indian past, but also to detach that past from its living descendants, contemporary Indian people (1992: 827).

While Maguire focuses on archaeologists, it is also the case that cultural anthropologists of the 1930s and 1940s similarly held to the belief that the people they were studying were but poor remnants of a glorious, authentic, and rapidly disappearing Indian past. Bruner refers to the dominant pre-World War II anthropological narrative as a story of acculturation, and argues that the story in turn had implications for anthropologists' behaviors and commitments. "In the early development of American anthropology," Bruner points out, "there was definite concern with cultural extinction, but as it was assumed to be inevitable, the aim was to describe Indian cultures before they disappeared, not to facilitate their continuity" (1986: 140). This then was the era of "salvage ethnography."

As we know, however, Indian people did not disappear. And with the well publicized native political activism of the 1960s and 1970s, including Indian occupations of Alcatraz, the BIA headquarters in Washington, and Wounded Knee, the acculturation narrative became untenable in academia. As Bruner (1986) points out, it was replaced with a different story, in which the Indian

present was not one of disintegration, but rather resistance, and in which the future was not assimilation but resurgence. The "Golden Age" for Indians thus shifted from the past to the future.

The change however has been not only in the story, but in who gets to tell it. Indian people are now teaching their own culture and history, sometimes challenging the established scholarship of non-native experts. The controversies over the influence of the Iroquois on the development of the U.S. Constitution, and over the content of the Iroquois curriculum resource guide prepared for the New York State Education Department by traditionalist Iroquois writers, provide recent and painful examples of the latter (Landsman and Ciborski 1992). Nor has Indian identity taken on a singular, pan-Indian form. Iverson documents the growth of tribal histories since 1974 (1984: 205), and Maguire points out that in contrast to earlier pan-Indian efforts, the recent emphasis of Indians' struggles has been to assert the sovereignty of Indian tribes (Maguire 1992: 828).

The question then emerges: As Indian peoples speak for themselves, not only as Indians, but as members of specific tribes, what is the role of the non-native teacher of Indian history and culture? What needs, if any, can the non-Indian university scholar serve, and at what cost to diverse Indian peoples? These questions address the viability of academic disciplines such as anthropology, archaeology, and history; and of current university diversity curricula initiatives as they

relate to Indian cultures.

I write from the perspective of a non-Indian anthropologist teaching in a large university. In exploring here the literature addressing the issue of the limits and loyalties of teaching about Indians I focus on two related issues. The first is that of who should teach about Indians. The second regards content, i.e. what should be considered open for the teaching, especially to non-Indians by non-Indians.

Anthropologists in particular have been criticized by Indian people on both fronts. They have been accused of failing to respect the privacy and secrecy of tribal religious knowledge in what they choose to research and teach about Indians (i.e., issues of content), and for their pretentiousness in teaching about Indians as if they could really have any indepth knowledge of Indian cultures anyway. I recall that in my own first foray into anthropological fieldwork as a graduate student, a Mohawk political activist agreed to an interview, but not without the prediction, "You're an anthropologist, so you'll probably get it wrong" (see Landsman 1988: 12-15 for discussion of carrying out fieldwork amid Mohawk perceptions of anthropologists). I have found that in carrying out my research with Iroquois people ever since that time, conversations have always been peppered with stories, both humorous and bitter, of how their relatives duped unsuspecting anthropologists with incorrect information and of how those anthropologists have moved on to prestigious careers unknowingly writing and teaching falsehoods about Iroquois people. Other versions of these stories present the

anthropologist simply as having totally misunderstood the truths he/she was told.

The question of whether non-Indians should teach about Indians thus involves issues of the ability of an outsider to adequately portray another people. But what does it take to be an insider? Must one be a member of a particular tribe in order to teach anything about that tribe, or is being Indian the main criteria? And in either case what degree of Indianness or tribal identity is required: full-blood? mixed heritage? or raised on a federally-recognized Indian reservation? We are back to unresolved issues of Indian identity.

If we recognize that all knowledge is situated and partial (Haraway 1988), the dichotomous framing of insider/outsider, and native/non-native anthropologists itself is called into question. Each of us has shifting identifications and loyalties that become salient in particular contexts. Writing as one who carries the label of "native anthropologist" (in this case Asian Indian) but who is uncomfortable with its "essentialist tag," Kirin Narayan argues:

The loci along which we are aligned or set apart from those whom we study are multiple and in flux. Factors such as education, gender, sexual orientation, class, race, or sheer duration of contacts may at different times outweigh the cultural identity we associate with insider or outsider status. Instead, what we must focus our attention on is the quality of relations with the people we seek to represent in our texts: are they viewed as mere fodder for professionally self-serving statements about a generalized Other, or are they accepted as subjects with voices, views, and dilemmas-- people to whom we are bonded through ties of reciprocity and who may even be critical of our professional enterprise? (1993: 671-72).

The question of who should teach about Indians is of course not only about insight, but involves power relations and economics. White scholars can be taking teaching positions that might otherwise be held by Indians. Similarly, when the books written by non-Natives are more appealing to a large non-Indian audience, or are seen to carry greater authority than those of Indian authors, both royalties and the ability to contribute to defining Indian identity and history are at stake. The recent rise of "New Age" literature and the proliferation of workshops purporting to teach sacred Indian truths and rituals to anyone who can pay the registration fee raises new cause for alarm here. As Diane Bell is documenting in her current research (1993), there is much money to be made by non-Indians who profess to have been taught by vaguely identified Indian elders.

The "craze" for "sweat lodges or sacred pipe ceremonies, which promise to bring individual and global healing" may on the surface appear to be based on respect for Indian spirituality, but it is in reality, according to Andy Smith, "part of a very old story of white racism and genocide against the Indian people" (1991: 44). Ward Churchill places it within the larger context of a "concerted, sustained, and in some ways accelerating effort [that] has gone into making Indians unreal," and which includes the use of Native names and symbols as sports team mascots and in consumer advertising (Churchill 1994: 39). Similarly, Wendy Rose sees New Age "whiteshamanism" as a "subset of a much broader assumption within the matrix of contemporary Eurocentric domination holding that non-Indians always (inherently) know more

about Indians than do Indians themselves" (Rose 1992: 406). In this sense all non-Indian teachers of Indian religions could potentially be implicated. Native challenges to the writings and performances by people such as Lynn Andrews, Sun Bear, and Brook Medicine Eagle however should not be taken to mean that Indians are the only appropriate teachers on Indian topics, that "Indian people might be "staking a claim" as the sole interpreters of Indian cultures . . . and asserting that only Indians can make valid observations of themselves" (Rose 1992: 415). Rather, Rose states in a position similar to that of Narayan, the issue is one of integrity and intent.

Thus, while New Age appropriation of Native spirituality raises anew the issue of what types of knowledge should be accessible to an outsider, the issue goes beyond criticism of rituals for sale by individual spiritual hucksters. Academics still holding to one or another version of "the vanishing Indian" concept perpetuate the view that contemporary Indians do not know about, fully understand, or practice their own traditions, i.e., they are not the "authentic" Indians of the past. Traditions are therefore seen as detached from specific groups of living people, and sacred knowledge, by this reasoning, enters a domain open to research by and teaching to all, despite objections voiced by particular Indians and/or communities who may claim to have an exclusive relationship to it. Anthropological literature criticizing the view that native peoples claiming their tribal identity should be held to romantic images of an authentic, traditional past, has ironically itself been seen as detrimental

to indigenous people's goals, inasmuch as its portrayal of tradition as "invented" may also be interpreted as meaning "unauthentic," unreal, or simply open for the taking. Although addressing a case in the Pacific, the debate surrounding Hanson's article on Maori construction of history (Hanson 1989; Linnekin 1991; Levine 1991) is particularly instructive on this issue.

How is the teacher to know what knowledge is appropriate for inclusion in a course on Indian history or culture? Commenting on the issue of appropriation of spirituality by New Age "feminists," Smith cautions that cross-cultural sharing can only take place within a context of respect, and the way for non-Indians to show respect is to become involved in Indians' political struggles and to develop an ongoing relationship with Indian communities (Smith 1991: 45). The relationship with Indian communities rather than with specific individuals provides an important check of legitimacy, according to Smith, for "the only way for non-Indians to know who are legitimate teachers is if they know who the community respects as its spiritual leaders" (1991: 45).

Smith's advice is clearly applicable to the scholar researching a particular Indian community or to those who teach in tribal colleges; however most of us who teach in large universities and non-tribal colleges do not have the luxury of teaching only about the Indian communities we know well. It is more likely that we will teach courses that cover a broad range of Indian history and cultures across the entire continent. The notion that a teacher might contact, let alone develop ongoing

relationships with, members of each community that might be covered in a survey class in order to discuss course content relevant to that group is an ideal, but in all likelihood it is too cumbersome to be carried out. Furthermore, it may also be the case that the communities themselves are divided on their beliefs and on how they choose to have themselves represented to an outside public. Dyck (1993) addresses some of the dilemmas involved in opening up to a non-Indian audience the internal conflicts within Indian communities; although directed to the issue of anthropologists involved in advocacy, his discussion of the ultimate value in what he calls "telling it like it is," provides useful food for thought for someone teaching non-Indians about contemporary Indian communities.

University "diversity" or "multiculturalism" initiatives recognize the Euroamerican bias of current teaching, and are encouraging the inclusion of more voices. Materials about the history and cultures of those previously excluded are now finding their way into the curriculum. In institutions in which minorities comprise a large population, the goals of such curricular change may involve teaching with materials that derive from students' own communities, and that enable students to learn and value their own histories. However, in institutions that are educating a primarily white student body or students from a wide variety of diverse ethnic backgrounds, the goals may instead be to further cross-cultural understanding and to teach students to value the histories of others; for instance, to enable white students to gain greater insight into the perspectives of

Indians.

It is in the latter case that teachers may find themselves confused as to appropriate course content. Speaking of pedagogy in American Indian Studies programs, Jaimes points out that "it is impossible to arrive at a coherently Indian understanding of law or political science without a firm grasp of the spiritual principles governing Indian life . . . these in turn can be apprehended only via a grounding in the Indian relationship to the environment" (Jaimes 1987: 11). To the extent that this is the case, teachers striving to provide a holistic appreciation of Native cultures may find themselves at cross-purposes with those Indians who wish their spiritual beliefs to remain within the exclusive domain of the community.

When it comes to teaching about Native Americans, then, who should be allowed to teach what to whom? In the end there seem to be no hard and fast rules on which everyone agrees. Clearly the non-Indian teacher can be assigned neither the exclusive nor privileged role. Both the remaking of social analysis in the postcolonial world (Rosaldo 1993) and the ongoing demands of Native peoples have challenged "the claim that there can be any truly objective historical interpretations that do not in some manner allow for the validity of alternative ways of knowing and making history" (Hill 1992: 811). But just how the role of the non-Indian teacher should be redefined within this context of shifting authority is still in the process of being worked out. Where the authors examined here, both Native and non-Native, appear to agree is that the foundation of all research and teaching must be respect and commitment to Indian peoples.

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"You Got to do More Then Dance Your Way Home"

by
Susan Stebbins
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I teach an anthropology class called Indian Images (see course syllabus at end of essay). In this class my students and I discuss the stereotypes of Native Americans found not only in the popular media, but also the existence of these same stereotypes in literary and historical texts. This is but one perspective to examine Native American stereotypes. Another might be the expectations Native Americans have about themselves and other groups of Native Americans. Artist James Luna has a poem entitled "Am I Indian Enough For You," which he addresses to both Natives and non-Natives. It has become an issue for some Native Americans to prove their identity to other Native Americans. What is it to be "Indian enough?"

This dilemma has become particularly acute for non-reservation and mixed-blood Native peoples. An aspect of their problem is manifested in the problem of not even having a name. Many Native people from the eastern United States have long lost their land base, have never had reservation associations, and have lost their language, all typical indicators of identity for western Native peoples. Additionally, we are the descendants of not only Native people, but Europeans, and in someplaces Africans, as well. What are we to be called? I suggest the word often associated with Canadians of mixed heritage, Metis. The Cambridge Dictionary defines Metis as "a person of mixed American

Indian and European, especially French ancestry. From the French, literary mixed." I believe this word also appropriately describes the ancestry of many of us which mixes various Native tribes and nations as well as European and African heritage (for example my own Lakota/Mohawk/Welsh ancestry). As many Mexican-Americans have adopted the term "Chicana," perhaps Metis can supply the term of identity for landless, mixed-blood Native people.

The problem of lost or invisible identity is particularly acute for many Native peoples of the eastern United States. Even western Native peoples are surprised to learn there are still Native peoples in the east, and even reservations. New York, for example, has the eleventh largest population of Native people, and eight reservations or state recognized reserves. But because of government policy which forced most eastern Native people to the west, or forced scattered remaining groups underground, much of their land base, language, and cultural traditions have been lost. Additionally, many of these people do not fit the physical stereotype of what an "Indian" looks like. There was, and is, a great deal of physical variation among the Native peoples of North America. Beyond the stereotypes of straight black hair, brown eyes, and reddish-brown skin, generations of intermarriage have left us with the phenomenon of "Blue-eyed Indians," and "Black Indians" found not only in the southeast where escaped slaves were given refuge by Native Americans, and where Afro-Americans and Native Americans suffered discrimination under Jim Crow laws, but also on Long Island, where Shinnecocks

and Poosapatucks where identified as "Negroes" in census records up until the 1960s.

Government policy has also worked to eliminate Native identity in a number of ways. For example, most eastern Native tribes and nations are matrilineal, that is, children belong to the band or clan of their mothers. But in the patrilineally based United States culture and government, children take the family name of their fathers (indeed, in the nineteenth century children were viewed as the property of their fathers). So while a Native American community might recognize the children of their daughters as clan or band members, as far as United States culture and government policy is concerned, they have the name and heritage of their fathers. As Native peoples and anthropologists know, mothers tend to be conservative transmitters of culture. That is, it is mothers who maintain and pass on cultural values and traditions. Thus, the children of women who married non-Natives, brought up by their mothers within their Native traditions, are often not recognized as "Indian," either because of family name, physical appearance, or both. The problem of sons marrying non-Native women results in different identity problems. The government may have recognized these children as Native American, but because the fathers have married clanless women, the children are left without a clan identity, unless adopted by female relative of the clan.

Blood quantum, the policy of identifying as Native American those who have a certain percentage of "Indian blood" has also been used by the government to eliminate people as Indian for the

purposes of treaty entitlements and annuities. In 1917 the BIA recognized as Indians only those individuals having at least one-half degree "Indian blood." (Commissioner of Indian Affairs Annual Report, 1917). While this may reduce the number of people the BIA has responsibility to, it also eliminates people who may otherwise have common cultural traditions, political goals and interests. But they are invisible to the government, who sees them as "not Indian."

The result of this is that many people are left in a kind of ethnic limbo. Often without clan or band affiliation, people who strongly identify with their Native ancestry often feel they are not members of either culture. According to the 1990 census, 1.9 million people claim some Native American ancestry. Is it ironic that in a nation that claims to be a melting pot, so many people choose to hold on to their ethnic identity. Thus Italian-Americans have clubs and street festivals, as do the Irish-Americans, and Polish-Americans, and Armenian-Americans. In fact, any ethnic group in large enough concentrations in any given geographic area claim an identity. If the descendants of these ethnic groups, who willingly came to a new continent feel the need to maintain their ethnic heritage, is it any wonder the descendants of those people who were already here, and fought so valiantly to keep their land and culture should also want to maintain what they still have?

Granted, increased opportunities through affirmative action, and romanticized notions of what it is to be "Indian" may have added somewhat to the increase of those claiming Native ancestry.

But so have reduced instances of outright racism. All of our families have horror stories of racial violence and discrimination in schools, on jobs, on competency tests, or on home loans. Until recently, in many parts of this country, north, south, east and west, if you Native American, Afro-American, or Chicano, and you could "pass" for white, you did for the protection of your family. While racism and discrimination have by no means gone away, particularly around reservations or populations which identify themselves as Native American, there are now at least some means of judicial recourse. My grandfather used to say things have gotten better, he no longer had to prove to the U.S. government, after being wounded in battle during World War I, that he could read and write and was competent to run his own business. Things are better enough, that the children and grandchildren of people who regretfully put aside their own language and traditions, are trying to reclaim them.

As a Metis, I became interested in how other Metis were able to manage this cultural reclamation. Last summer I started conducting informal interviews, conversations really, with other Metis to see how they have hung on to the Native American aspect of their ethnic identity. Not surprisingly, this ethnic continuance seems to focus on the family. There were some who had secretive conversations with older family members around old photographs and family Bibles. In upstate New York, many students who take Native American studies classes have told me they have family stories about great-grandparents who were Indian, and they want to know more about Indians. Some have even

requested help in how to find records and documents to get more information.

There are other families who were more open. One woman in her sixties talked about learning how to hunt with a bow and respect for her prey, along with learning some language from her Lakota grandfather. She also talked about a time during a thunderstorm when her grandmother went around the house blessing windows while her grandfather went outside to pray.

Other people, particularly those who live in urban areas, referred to finding other Native peoples, particularly in cultural centers or social groups. Many of these cultural centers or social groups were organized by people who still had reservation connections, but had moved to an urban area for employment. Many others were founded in the 1950s, during the policies of the Indian Relocation Act, when many Native peoples were settled in poor neighborhoods of various cities across the United States. The cultural centers and social clubs served as a cultural anchor for many people. One woman, in telling me about a woman's social club in Rochester, NY, said, "we'd go bowling, or just go out and have a good time, and talk about home."

The communication about home, activities, marriages, births, deaths, seem to be an important function of these social groups. Some groups also assumed some service function in helping new arrivals get settled and adjusted. In many cases, as with the Iroquois employees of Eastman-Kodak in Rochester, NY, scholarships and other types of aid were given to students back on the home reservations.

These cultural centers and social groups also served as a means of cultural re-education for many Metis who were looking for a way to socialize with other Native Americans and gain access to various cultural traditions such as dancing, drumming, stories, and crafts.

I know there are those out there who claim Native ancestry for whatever affirmative action benefit they think minority status might get them, or because they believe they might gain from reservation incomes through gaming or other economic opportunities. There are others who see in Native American cultures, particularly our religions, some cure for the ills or dissatisfactions they have with their own culture. But there are many others who are genuinely searching for something precious, that through no fault of their own has been lost to them.

For those who see minority status as some sort of an affirmative action scam, affirmative action only gets you to a door. After that, many minority representatives find themselves having to constantly prove that they are capable of performing a certain job, that it was not given to them just because they fulfill a minority quota. For those who wish to share in the assets reservations residents might get from various forms of economic development; have you also shared in the high unemployment, poor housing, poor schools, poor medical services, and polluted environment? If not, don't expect to share the good times when you haven't shared the bad. For those who see some cure for their social ills within Native American cultures I would first ask that they educate themselves about those cultures

and not just project their desires and fantasies onto another culture.

For those who truly wish to know about their lost heritage I would also suggest education. But not just an education which focuses on the past. If you truly wish a Native American identity it is not enough to know about great-grandmother's tribe and where she came from. Native Americans did not cease to exist in your great-grandparents generation. We are still here and we have current concerns: racial injustice, poor housing, education and medical care, lack of employment and economic opportunities, environmental degradation, and continued infringement on religious and other cultural traditions. For those who truly wish to reclaim their loss heritage, you got to do more then dance.

ANTC 395 (01) INDIAN IMAGES SPRING 1994

Monday and Wednesday 3:30-4:45
SYLLABUS

Dr. Susan Stebbins
119A MacVicar Hall
267-2047
Office Hours M-W 1:00-2:30p.m.
or by appointment
Denise White
234 Sisson Hall
267-2622
Office hours by appointment

Texts: Shadows of the Indian by Raymond Stedman
On Reserve: Fantasies of the Master Race: Literature, Cinema and the Colonialization of the American Indian, by Ward Churchill

OBJECTIVES: There are two major objectives for the class. First of all, to instill in students an awareness of the continued stereotypes by which Native Americans are viewed and the basic racist nature of those stereotypes; and second, to help students develop historical, anthropological, and analytical skills by which to make sound and non-racist judgments about future representations of Native Americans.

EVALUATION: Your evaluation will be based upon: a short answer test , an essay exam, an analysis of a fictional book about Native Americans by non-Native authors (see reading list A), an analysis of a fictional book by a Native American author (see reading list B), and an analysis of a film which will be shown in class. Each analysis should be 2-3 pages in length, and each evaluation will count equally toward your final grade. Class attendance is mandatory. Your grade will be deducted half a grade point (for example 3.5-3.0) for each set of three unexcused absences.

Part 1 Jan. 10-26	Early Contact Spanish and Portuguese Colonialism "Are They Human?" The Caribbean Mexico and Central America South America	Read Stedman Foreword, Preface, Prologue, Chap. 1-4
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Short answer Test Jan. 31

PartII	Dutch, French and English Colonialism till 1790	
Feb. 2-23	Missionaries	Stedman
	Jesuit Relations	chap. 5-8
	Indians as Neighbors	Churchill part 1
	Indians as Conquered Foes	

Essay Feb. 28

PartIII	Western Expansion 1790-1890	
March 2-23	Savages and Noble Savages	Stedman chap. 9-
	Savage Men, Available Women	12
	Sand Creek: Objectifying the Other	Churchill's essay on "Creek Mary's Blood"

Analysis of fiction book by non-Native authors due March 25 (before you leave for Spring Break, no extensions!)

Part IV	1890 to the Present	
April 6-27	Continuing Images	Stedman chap. 13-14
	Speaking for Ourselves	Churchill parts 111, V, VI

Analysis of a fiction book by Native authors due April 20

FINAL - ANALYSIS OF A FILM
FILM WILL BE SHOWN IN CLASS APRIL 25, ANALYSIS IS DUE APRIL 29.

**Building Tribal Colleges: Tribal College
Linkages with State, Public, and Private Institutions**

by
Cheryl Crazy Bull and Myrna Leader Charge
Sinte Gleska University

Tribal Colleges: Shaping the Future of Native America

Relationships with state and private institutions of higher education have been both beneficial and restrictive to the nation's tribal colleges and universities. This paper examines the issues associated with affiliations, articulation agreements, and cooperative arrangements among tribal institutions and the public and private colleges and universities in the areas they serve. Affiliations are defined as special agreements for the delivery of a state or private institution's degree program(s) at the tribal college site; articulation agreements are for the transfer of tribal college courses and/or degrees into the other institution. Finally, cooperative arrangements are any other activity other than the affiliation or articulation agreement. These cooperative arrangements can be both formal and informal.

In addition to journal articles and other publications, this paper is based on a survey of tribal colleges with eight of twenty-nine responding. Colleges which responded are Ft. Berthold Community College (Three Affiliated Tribes, North Dakota), Standing Rock College (Standing Rock Reservation, North/South Dakota), Leech Lake Tribal College (Leech Lake Reservation, Minnesota), Turtle Mountain Community College (Turtle Mountain Reservation, North Dakota), Navajo Community College (Navajo Reservation, Arizona), Sinte Gleska University

(Rosebud Reservation, South Dakota), Fort Peck Community College (Fort Peck Reservation, Montana) and Crownpoint Institute of Technology (Navajo Reservation, New Mexico). The number of institutional respondents is geographically diverse and generally representative of the tribal colleges nationally. In addition, the authors have served with tribal colleges for several years and bring their personal observations to this research.

The failure of American higher education institutions to adequately serve the needs of indigenous people is well documented. One need only review the recent Indian Nations At Risk Task Force Report and the White House Conference on Indian Education Report and Summary for evidence of the historic and contemporary failure of American education when educating its indigenous citizens.

To make up for the lack of higher education opportunity for its young people, tribal elders beginning with the founding of Navajo Community College in 1968, established their own reservation based tribal institutions. These institutions are intended to foster tribal leadership and to model Indian control of education. They serve a two part primary mission: to provide for cultural preservation and restoration and to teach western skills. This mission fosters a cadre of tribal people who are able to lead their people toward self-sufficiency and self-determination while retaining their unique tribal identities.

Tribal colleges began in the midst of the most economically impoverished, rural environments imaginable. The tremendous lack of resources along with the lack of expertise in operating a

college required tribal college founders to turn to State and private colleges and universities for help.

Affiliation Agreements

From the beginning, tribal colleges have relied on non-tribal educational institutions to provide the expertise, courses, and programs for start-up services by the tribal colleges for their reservation communities. This strategy is viewed as necessary in light of the accreditation requirements associated with higher education in the United States. Accreditation, while a voluntary process, requires the meeting of certain instructional, resource, and public disclosure standards. In order to be eligible for federal financial aid and for most federal and foundation grants, an institution must have candidacy or full accreditation. Start-up affiliation agreements help tribal colleges overcome many barriers which could otherwise prevent their establishment.

In addition, in order to be eligible for monies under the Tribally Controlled Community College Act (TCCCA), a tribal college must undergo a feasibility study by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The feasibility study requires a tribal college to have at least three articulation agreements. Affiliations are one means of meeting this articulation requirement. The TCCCA provides funding based on Indian student count as the source of base funding for tribal colleges. There are a number of requirements which a college must meet prior to being determined feasible and, thus, eligible for this funding.

All of the tribal colleges offer a range of associate level

degrees and certificate programs. Three (Sinte Gleska University, Oglala Lakota College, and Salish Kootenai College) offer a limited number of bachelors degrees. Transferability of courses and degrees to four year and graduate institutions, given the limitations on tribal college resources, is critical to tribal colleges successfully serving their students and tribal populations. Tribal colleges can serve as a bridge between high school and a non-Indian institution when a student is seeking a degree not offered by a tribal college. Tribal colleges can also serve as a route for successful higher education experiences among those individuals who find themselves failing at non-Indian institutions because of cultural, economic, and social barriers.

Additional benefits to tribal colleges of affiliations include cost effectiveness, financial aid eligibility, local delivery of needed courses, sharing of facilities, and the strengthening of public support through these collaborations.

Tribal colleges, though, are afforded limited opportunity to build their own institutional infrastructure when affiliations are initially in place. All survey respondents cited numerous conflicts over control over course approval, instructor certifications, academic calendars, and various other policies associated with affiliations. In addition, tribal colleges find themselves in the position of having to advocate for their own needs and for sufficient cooperation across the non-tribal institution when working with affiliations.

Articulation Agreements

The level and extent of articulation agreements vary greatly

among tribal colleges. Some institutions such as Navajo Community College have agreements with all or several institutions in their service areas; others like Sinte Gleska University have no formal articulations. Very few of the tribal colleges have agreements with each other although three recently opened colleges included affiliations or articulations with other tribal colleges as part of their start-up strategy.

Most articulations are for transfer from two year programs into four year programs. The advantage of this is the service to the student seeking a four year or even graduate degree. There is ample evidence of the value of this strategy in the number of successful transfers from tribal colleges to state institutions in North Dakota and Montana. One clear disadvantage, however, to tribal colleges is the heavy influence of articulation on the content of individual courses and degree programs. When course or degree transfer rather than tribal college mission is the impetus for curriculum content, it is usually the mission which suffers. Often tribal colleges are usually not in the position, politically or resource-wise, to influence the course content expectations of individual instructors at non-tribal institutions. There is also a risk that non-tribal institutions will act in a manner which insures that tribal colleges remain as two year community colleges rather than expanding into four year or even graduate programs. Tribal colleges in this situation are rewarded through services (people and finances), through grant participation and through other forms of cooperation for remaining at the two year level.

While transferability is the greatest advantage of an articulation agreement, tribal college personnel express reservations about the tokenism often associated with these relationships, about the philosophical conflict inherent in the different institutional missions and about the continued problems with course acceptance despite these arrangements.

Cooperative Arrangements

Tribal colleges engage in a range of formal and informal relationships with a variety of other higher education institutions. Examples include a cooperative education grant among the North Dakota tribal colleges and two year institutions; a Bush Foundation grant which allows South Dakota State University to deliver a Master's in Education Administration in cooperation with Oglala Lakota College and Sinte Gleska University, and the various grants and collaborations among Montana tribal colleges and Montana State University, particularly, for math and science development.

Recommendations for improved relations between tribal colleges and non-tribal institutions include establishment (or retention) of Indian studies programs and formal services such as counseling for tribal college and other Indian students who transfer to state and private schools. Faculty development, including training and advanced study, faculty/student exchanges, shared library resources, and shared computer services were also mentioned.

Telecommunications

AIHEC's initiatives as well as the individual efforts of

tribal colleges point out the unlimited possibilities for collaboration among institutions using telecommunications. Satellite, fiber optics and computer linkages improve access to resources and increase the likelihood of tribal colleges requesting services from other institutions. Tribal colleges are eager to have full access to other tribal colleges through telecommunications. By 1995, Standing Rock College in North Dakota will be linking with North Dakota state institutions and Sinte Gleska University will become one of South Dakota's Rural Development Telecommunication Network sites. The delivery of specialized, technical, and professional development courses and courses for which tribal colleges don't have qualified instructors are two areas of development.

Land Grant

There are at least two avenues for agreements between land grant institutions and tribal colleges. One is the implementation of the recently introduced Equity in Educational Land Grant Status Act which allows, among other items, \$5 million for extension programs administered through existing land grant institutions for the benefit of tribal colleges. Another is for tribal colleges to enter into formal memorandums of agreement or understandings with their state land grant institutions for the delivery of services particular to that land grant status. Tribal colleges are particularly interested in math and sciences, agricultural, land and natural resource development. A formalized agreement would alleviate the tokenism often present

in such relationships and could be a tool for insuring institution-wide support from the land grant college or university.

Research

As Grayson Noley points out in the Tribal College Journal (Winter, 1993), the mission of every public university in the United States includes service to the community, a community which is the entire population of the state it serves. This population includes Native Americans. Tribal colleges, he believes, should provide the leadership necessary to force public universities to provide much-needed Indian community based research.

Noley sees numerous benefits to this type of relationship including the fostering of Native scholars who might choose to participate in research as a career option as well as the improvement of community based research at the tribal college itself.

Teacher Trainins

Lifelong learning is the educational philosophy of tribal peoples. Tribal colleges recognize the importance of having tribal teachers at all levels of formal education in our tribal communities. Oglala Lakota College and Sinte Gleska University have elementary and secondary teacher training programs whose participants and graduates have had a tremendously positive effect on the education of reservation youth. These teacher training programs and others being developed by Navajo Community

College and Haskell Indian Nations University are designed to meet the particular needs of tribal citizens.

Continued limitations on tribal college resources makes the development and implementation of these teacher training programs difficult. Public and private institutions could work more closely with tribal colleges to deliver four year and graduate teacher training at reservation-based sites. Tribal colleges bring their tribal education expertise and community resources while non-tribal institutions bring their certification, accreditation, and educational experiences into a teacher training arrangement which meets the needs of many generations of tribal citizens.

Articulations

Tribal colleges should consider articulations among themselves, particularly at a regional or statewide level. As more tribal colleges open, as more implement four year degrees and as dorms and student housing are built, these agreements will help tribal colleges serve their populations better. There is also interest in articulations with the two Canadian tribal colleges not included in this study.

Because articulations take time and effort to develop and monitor, states should consider creating some type of system-wide initiative to facilitate articulations between their public institutions and tribal colleges. Public and private institutions also need to increase faculty and institution-wide awareness of the critical necessity of tribal colleges maintaining their tribal missions to avoid penalizing students

when transferring courses.

Conclusion

Today, tribal colleges are experiencing a rapid growth in public recognition and credibility. This combined with the rising attraction to our native based studies makes us a popular target for cooperative agreements with institutions from across the United States and even the world. In some instances, tribal colleges find more interest in their development from institutions several states away rather than in their own territory.

Public and private colleges and universities must develop an institutional commitment through policy statements from their Boards and Presidents. These policy statements which address the mission of non-tribal institutions to serve their entire community can facilitate tribal college access to resources available to public and private higher education institutions.

Geographic relationships and common interest should be the basis for cooperative arrangements. Because tribal colleges have such limited resources, they must continuously revisit their missions as a guide for such relationships. Upholding the tribal college mission will mean the best services to tribal citizens.

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**American Indian Studies Programs As Change Agents in
Mainstream Institutions of Higher Education**

by
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Mission and Cultural Differences

This brief essay is written from the perspectives I have gained throughout 20 years of administrative and teaching experience in mainstream higher education institutions. This essay raises more questions than it answers and I wrote it with that goal in mind. I use the term "mainstream" to represent those institutions which: a) have predominantly students, staff and faculty of European-American ancestry; b) are, or aspire to be, research institutions; c) are generally very large; and, d) have for over two decades, continually struggled with the question: "What do we do with all these minority students who want to come here?" The unspoken assumption behind the question is given they are not prepared for this level of work.

Most mainstream institutions have responded to pressures to diversify with some (painful and minor) curriculum change, some attempt to hire a few more minority faculty and administrators, and stronger (and generally more successful) attempts to recruit a representative number of minority students. (Let's hope no one ever looks at the graduation rates--just the enrollment numbers).

American Indian studies programs in mainstream institutions continue, for the most part, to be marginal, weak actors in mainstream institutions' efforts to diversify the workforce and student body. American Indian students, staff and faculty are

also predictably, on the bottom of the totem pole, whatever measure of institutional success you use. They lack Indian faculty, adequate space, operations, staff support and student support. If any issue of importance surfaces which pits them against traditional departments, for example, the development of a new interdisciplinary degree--they lose the war (regardless of a few battles won). Even more important, Indian studies programs in mainstream institutions and the majority of their staff are not significant change agents for American Indian students or American Indian communities.

I cannot help but note that you could easily argue that mainstream institutions have been change agents in Indian communities from a negative perspective. However, the assault on Indian psychics, families, burial remains, and environmental resources is a well-known story and need not be repeated here.

We could have all sorts of interesting debates about what we mean by change agent (for whom, by whom, when, where, how) but for the sake of this essay, let me define being a "change agent" by attempting to judge to what extent mainstream institutions of higher education have used their resources to meet the needs of American Indian individuals and/or communities. For example, have Indian students been admitted and graduated in significant numbers; have Indian staff and faculty been attracted to the institution; have Indian studies programs been supported with space, staff, operations; have surrounding Indian community needs been met (according to their standards); have Indian students, faculty and staff been rewarded for service and educational

experiences with tribal and urban communities; have partnerships and networks been established with Indian communities which are responsive to tribal and community self-determination and self-governance initiatives? These principals are only examples, of course, of the variety of ways mainstream institutions might be measured as change agents. But in my mind, the single most important measure is to what extent mainstream institutions of higher education have reached out to Indian communities to offer their substantial resources in meeting those communities' self-defined needs.

Perhaps this is an unfair measure. How preposterous is it to assume (in the first place) American Indian studies programs in mainstream institutions were ever intended to be change agents? The immediate counter arguments are very strong--mainstream institutions are Euro-American institutions with a basic mission to assimilate indigenous peoples and immigrants; the fiscal resource base emanates from state tax structures; faculty are hired, tenured, and promoted based upon academic and departmental "good old boys" club rules; non-European-American students are recruited reluctantly and with passing reference to doing the right thing and meeting affirmative action guidelines; and the list could go on and on. The point is, mainstream institutions were never prepared (and did not want) to support Indian communities or Indian students. So, out of this framework, can we expect any American Indian studies program in a mainstream institution to be a change agent for Indian communities? Historically, the cultural gulf between mainstream

institutions' goals and missions and Indian communities' goals has been much too great, and Indian studies programs have never been taken seriously in academia.

In the introduction to the most comprehensive survey of American Indian studies programs which I know of, the authors (Heth and Guyette) made this point:

Many factors contribute to the cultural inappropriateness of the dominant culture system. Differences exist in the purpose of education. For example, the Indian view that education is to prepare a person to contribute responsibly to community members and to the continuation of their culture contrasts sharply to the dominant view of education as a means of 'getting ahead' and improving one's situation as an individual; in other words, humanistic gains versus individual and monetary gains represent quite different world views (1984, p. ix).

Someone might argue that, of course, mainstream institutions are change agents because they produce Indian (and non-Indian) leaders who can make a personal and professional contribution somewhere across Indian country. However, stories abound which relate the difficulties Indian students have returning to their communities upon graduation. It seems to take considerable time and effort to regain many community members' trust and acceptance. In addition, the vast majority of Indians educated in mainstream institutions work in urban areas not tribal communities.

Whether the intention was ever articulated by the mainstream institution, clearly many (if not most) Indian people entered academia, thinking this was "a way to help our people". For example, over two decades ago, Bea Medicine commented:

...most of us looked to colleges and universities as the last stronghold for control of our destinies and the grasping of knowledge of the 'betterment of Indian people', which was most often instilled in Indians by the white change agents.

These students enrolled in traditional disciplines--anthropology, history, or the professional programs, and most wanted an education they could take back to help their communities. The problem from the start was how little mainstream education had to offer tribal communities.

Traditional Indian Education

Vine Deloria, Jr. does an excellent job of drawing a clear distinction between traditional Indian education and the education offered by Euro-American institutions of higher learning (see: Indian Education in America, American Indian Science & Engineering Society, 1991). Deloria, Jr. makes clear there is a vast gulf between world views. Deloria's insights are many, but what is important for our discussion is his equation, power and place = personality (p. 14). Power is the realization that all things in the universe are alive and you must recognize your place in relationship to everything else. You cannot separate the sacred or spiritual from work, or school or any aspect of everyday life. Place is your specific knowledge and relationship with the immediate environment--all places, people and things and the responsibilities you have to family, kin and community.

Personality, then, is the bringing together in a dynamic way power and place and leaves the person firmly rooted in environment, family, and community. The benefits of a traditional Indian education include special knowledge and skills to blend into and become an integral part of the environment; a

special bonding with family and kin which teaches respect, generosity, sharing, spirituality and other values which strengthen community. I wrote a brief piece which highlights the differences I've briefly touched on here and it will be published soon in Family Relations. The differences between traditional Indian education and mainstream American education are enormous.

There is no use pretending that what serves as a curriculum today in American educational institutions has anything but a potentially disastrous impact on personality (Indian or non-Indian). And, of course, you need only look to the reward system in the top research institutions to find an example of the sharp contrasts we have been discussing. The reward system is focused on scholarly publications in a specific [narrow] set of journals, the competition for and winning of grants and contracts and not getting in trouble for your teaching. Service within the institution and especially to communities does not count for promotion and tenure (the tenure prize is a lifetime contract with considerable freedom to pursue your own initiatives). Imagine for a moment the tribal college or university with a similar reward system for faculty and staff. In effect, you would be rewarding people to abandon traditional education, to perpetuate mainstream philosophies on the reservation with only a sprinkling of heritage language, history and culture courses for window dressing. It would soon be difficult to tell the difference between the tribal college and the rural, state college which may be located only a short distance away.

This focus on mainstream and tribal college reward systems strikes at the heart of the differences between traditional Indian education and mainstream education. Tribal colleges have a very different mission than mainstream institutions. But, the leaders of these institutions will, generally, earn their graduate degrees and often gain their administrative experience in mainstream institutions. Their effectiveness as leaders will rely on both the education they received and the degree to which they understand traditional Indian education. I wonder if American Indian studies programs at mainstream institutions have or will play a role in preparing tribal college faculty, staff or their educational leaders? I haven't seen much evidence of that happening yet, but I have great hope that this will happen.

Strengthening Indian Studies Programs

I will argue here, that there is a role for American Indian studies programs in mainstream institutions. However, until these programs are strengthened, their impact on tribal communities and Indian students will be minimal. In a report recently published with Ken Pepion, we made several recommendations to strengthen American Indian Studies programs in mainstream institutions. They bear repeating for several reasons: 1) unless or until departments are done away with (as the central organizational unit in today's colleges and universities), Indian studies programs are forced to struggle for power with departments (which run universities); 2) it will be a constant struggle for Indian studies to maintain an interdisciplinary and wholistic perspective, which is essential

to their philosophy; 3) Indian studies programs will have to reaffirm their role in the mission of the university, each and every budget cycle; and 4) the universities' "commitment" to diversity may be useful in strengthening Indian studies, but this is not a given. Our recommendations (following a case study review) included:

*Work toward the goal of free-standing departmental or division status. Umbrella organizations like ethnic or American studies may work well with certain situations but should be pursued with care. A fall-back strategy is to acquire a "quasi-departmental" status by achieving the ability to grant promotions and tenure through the interdisciplinary faculty supporting the studies program. If all else fails, a clear "rostering" of the faculty member in the studies program through a contract letter or other agreement should be the goal.

*Interdisciplinary studies programs should be placed in an organizational unit that spans the academic breadth of the university. If this is not feasible, then programs with a graduate research emphasis might be housed in the graduate school. Programs with an undergraduate focus might report directly to the provost or academic vice president.

*Tight budgetary times always raises questions for interdisciplinary studies programs. Networking across the university for advocates and strategic planning may help alleviate cuts. For example, Indian tribes and intertribal organizations should be sought out as a source of support.

*Studies programs should recognize the importance of the appropriate level of self-promotion including publicity about accomplishments. Indeed, they must become a known entity on campuses.

*The University's commitment to diversity should become an important theme for studies program goals and their promotion of strength and importance in the university city. This may necessitate strong faculty activity that helps meet the university's varied diversity goals.

Regardless of the challenges facing Indian studies programs and departments, they have not enrolled significant numbers of Indian students. However, the overall pool is, indeed, very small.

Recruitment and Retention

Why don't more American Indian students enroll in American Indian studies courses and programs? There seems to me to be ample anecdotal evidence that counselors and parents (who may influence Indian students) have bought into the American dream--get a good education so you can get a good job (not on the reservation or with an Indian community, or course). There are all sorts of problems with that belief, today, especially the idea a good job awaits the college graduate. But regardless of these arguments, a significant share of Indian students in mainstream institutions seem to have majors other than Indian studies on their minds. Given the needs in Indian communities it is easy to see why doctors, attorneys, engineers, biochemists, civil engineers, accountants and teachers are attractive majors. However, I am struck by several contradictions: Where are the jobs in Indian communities for these professionals? Given the 15% to 25% graduation rates in mainstream institutions, are the declared majors in these professions worth pursuing? Since we are often told college students change majors three to five times (then follow the same pattern by changing jobs five to seven times) during their careers, what is the most important part of a college education--the general education one receives or the specific skills of a profession? There is increasing evidence a general education/liberal arts major may serve the student better than the highly touted business degree. Indian studies degrees are firmly rooted in the general education and the liberal arts, humanities and fine arts traditions and have always, been

underrated as a worthwhile degree.

I have watched mainstream institutions reach out to the reservations and bring in Indian students in increasing numbers for the past 25 years. In a forthcoming chapter by Tsianina Lomawaima in the Handbook of Research on Multicultural Education, she provides a comprehensive statistical picture on Indians participation in higher education and makes several important points about mainstream institutions:

In 1980, Native American students made up 00.7% of the total enrollment in institutions of higher education. They have been awarded 00.4% of the bachelor's degrees, 00.3% to 00.4% of the master's degrees and 00.3% to 00.4% of the doctoral degrees throughout the decade of the 1980s. (p. 10)

She goes on to make the point that the majority of degrees awarded have been in education--with very few in the physical sciences or life sciences. Another important point she makes is that there are widely different statistics available on degrees granted from various agencies, therefore, compounding longitudinal or trend analysis for Indians in higher education. However, the focus in mainstream institutions is on recruiting not retaining and graduating these students. As a change agent, then, mainstream institutions impact the process more than the product. I realize there are not good data available in the area of retention. However, a few years ago the three institutions in Arizona were graduating about 14 out of 100 after five years. No one knows how many dropped out, then came back in, or went on to finish somewhere else. The last several years the University of Arizona rate is closer to 25% --still not close to mainstream graduation rates. Rather than recruit Indian students just to

have your body count up for diversity efforts, I'd rather see fewer students enrolling and 80% graduating. The retention area is complicated with multiple issues but the mainstream university that purports to want Indian students must provide the services and environment to support them to graduation. This is the challenge of the next several decades.

If Indian students come unprepared then summer, pre-session, mentoring, networking, tutoring and other services are in order. American Indian studies programs can and should take a leadership role in this support system. One strategy is to combine the academic, student support, and community outreach efforts into one academic unit. The usual structure is characterized by small, physically separated, poorly financed Indian units reporting to different administrators. Mainstream administrators, by-and-large, still have not caught on to a primary Indian organizational strength--wholistic rather than fragmented; philosophy and community-centered rather than individualistic activities. When you put a high priority on ample social space and a kitchen, mainstream administrators go bonkers. They only want to hear about laboratory space, how many students you can enroll in one section and how far off campus are you willing to locate.

Indian Identity

Indian identity is a problem I often hear raised in relation to American Indian studies programs. There are two areas of concern--admission and financial aid--and the intensity of concern is greatest, of course, in the area of financial aid.

Many of my colleagues erroneously believe Indian studies is restricted to or only attracts American Indians. To the contrary, in mainstream institutions the proportion of Indian students attracted to our programs ranges from 20 to 40%. The largest number of our enrolled students are non-Indian. All public universities and colleges are governed by affirmative action guidelines and, therefore, rely on self-identity to establish the number of Indian or "minority" students in their program. Many programs supplement the university self-identity form by asking for the name of a tribe on their own application form. However, I don't know of any program which asks for tribal enrollment information or other proof of affiliation for admission purposes.

However, I think, the picture may be very different (but mixed) when it comes to financial aid. Almost all mainstream universities have some earmarked funds for "minorities." Generally, the program or department is "certifying" Indian identity by awarding a scholarship or fellowship or other form of aid to a particular student. I have heard of programs which have required tribal enrollment or verification of community recognition to award financial aid. I suspect, however, the majority of programs use self-identity and probably supplement that with some questions about where a person grew up and "who that person's family is."

There seems to be a continued but often low key, concern raised about who has been awarded financial aid in American Indian studies and whether or not they are "really Indian."

American Indian studies programs have always served both Indians and non-Indians. "American Indian studies" is, by its very nature, an examination of Indian and non-Indian institutions and their interaction over the past six or more centuries. Indian identity may always be an issue for some individuals, under some circumstances, but neither the area of study nor the process will ever be exclusively "Indian."

On Becoming A Multi-Cultural Person

Multi-culturalism has received increased attention recently in mainstream higher education institutions. The movement takes many forms, but in particular, most institutions have adopted cultural diversity plans which focus on everything from curriculum reform to faculty hiring. The latest buzz word is "managing diversity." The logic goes, that to work in an increasingly diverse workforce you must understand, appreciate, and even embrace other cultures. However, some people draw the line when you begin to argue homosexual and bi-sexual individuals are a culture they should come to embrace.

I have heard some of my Indian and non-Indian colleagues argue that American Indian studies should ride the diversity wave to new heights in academia. Given the struggles we have had for decades, it's tempting to utter "right on dudes (and dudettes)" and jump aboard the nearest surf board.

However, a number of fundamental questions come to mind. Does multi-culturalism play into the often heard notion that we need combined ethnic and gender studies programs and multi-cultural centers on campus so everyone can get to know one

another? Does multi-culturalism mean we should buy into the idea that we only have "special programs" on campus because we are an ethnic or racial group, (which might cause trouble if things don't go our way)? Is strengthening your role in multi-cultural education going to pay off with promotion and tenure for the Indian faculty member? I know it will be increasingly important for Indian youth to understand and appreciate different cultures, but this is something their elders have had over 500 years of experience doing--and their darn good at it! The immediate focus needs to be on preservation of tribal culture and sovereignty, then understanding the diversity across Indian country and, finally, the diversity inherent within other groups.

Tribal Colleges

DeJong, in reporting the findings of a special report in 1989 by the Carnegie Foundation, identified the following themes in evaluation of tribal colleges:

- *the federal government's benign neglect of Indian controlled higher education;
- *tribal colleges were rebuilding heritage, instilling pride and self-respect;
- *tribal colleges were serving as cultural translators and vanguards of a cultural renaissance (p. 245).

This report is worth reading and is presented in the DeJong book. It is clear that even 20 years ago, tribal colleges were seen as community institutions whose primary purpose was to strengthen their communities through reaffirming shared traditions. Culture was seen as the center of curriculum and reaching out to the community an integral part of their mission.

It was difficult to generalize too much in that report given the differences in educational philosophy between colleges and communities. General education was found to be an important part of every curriculum. The Carnegie Foundation's two-year study of tribal colleges ends with recommendations to strengthen programs. The problems they noted included:

- *inadequate facilities
- *poor salaries
- *understaffed academic programs
- *divisive politics
- *lack of documentation of graduation, employment rates
- *the need for more research (p. 262)

Finally, they ended with, "As a movement, however, tribal colleges are an inspiration." (p. 262)

The report clearly argued that with more adequate funding, tribal colleges could be at the vanguard of self-governance and community renewal by focusing within the community on teaching, service and research.

Tribal colleges with this unique mission have potential to educate Indian students in important ways that mainstream American Indian studies programs cannot. However, as long as Indian students also choose to attend mainstream institutions, then American Indian studies programs have a unique and special responsibility to both the students who attend and the communities that send them.

Conclusion

Mainstream American institutions of higher education have not been change agents--from a positive perspective--in Indian communities. Neither have American Indian studies programs

housed in these institutions been change agents--not in the lives of Indian students or in Indian communities.

Someone making a balanced judgment might argue some institutions have made increasing efforts to meet Indian student and community needs, especially in the past few years (regardless of the motives). I would argue the efforts I'm aware of are: a) too little; b) poorly orchestrated [there is plenty of blame for everyone on this account]; c) in conflict with the democratic, egalitarian and multi-cultural efforts of universities to still troubled waters; and d) would require sweeping fundamental changes to the mission, goals, and employee and student reward structures, to significantly alter their interaction with American Indian individuals and communities.

Does this mean that Indian studies programs cannot, by the very nature of their environment, be effective change agents?

The answer is, they can be if:

1. they articulate that their mission is to take leadership for American Indian students, faculty and staff across the campus and not just in their program;
2. they reach out to meet the needs of local, state, and regional tribal and community groups;
3. they develop a special relationship or partnership and support with tribal colleges, nationally;
4. they take a leadership role, internally, to change the university reward structure for faculty, staff and students.

Tribal colleges and universities, in sharp contrast, should be able to avoid the institutional, attitudinal, structural and organizational barriers inceptive in mainstream institutions.

However, my lack of knowledge about these institutions leaves me

with many questions. Do tribal colleges and universities have the resources to meet individual and community needs? Can these institutions avoid the pitfalls of community governance issues, yet sustain the world view, attitudes, values and beliefs of the community? Can they prepare students to be functioning members of their community and to go on (if they wish) to a mainstream institution? Will staff and faculty be rewarded and nurtured for preserving the history, culture, language and spirituality of the community?

If these questions are not answered to the satisfaction of the tribal communities supporting tribal colleges, then tribal communities have lost another chance to strengthen self-governance initiatives and preserve their language, history and culture.

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